

POL 27

BIAPRA - NIGERIA

7-15-68

STATE DEPARTMENT SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

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EO 12958, 25X  
FPC/HDR by TLS Date: 3/20/96

WFO/SAW/SL No. \_\_\_\_\_

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Authority VND 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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AFCW/Reed:dls  
(Drafting Office and Officer)  
7/30/68

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

Mr. Palmer's Office  
DATE: July 25, 1968  
1:00-2:00 p.m.

SUBJECT: Nigerian Conflict

PARTICIPANTS: The Honorable Joseph Palmer 2nd Assistant Secretary for African Affairs  
Mr. William E. Schaufele, Jr., Country Director for Central West Africa  
Mr. Randolph Reed, Country Officer for Ivory Coast  
LS - Mrs. Sophia Porson

~~COMES TO:~~ His Excellency Arsene Usher, Foreign Minister of the Ivory Coast  
His Excellency Timothee N'Guetta Ahoua, Ambassador, Ivory Coast  
Mr. Emmanuel Nouama, Counselor, Embassy of Ivory Coast  
Mr. Ghoulem Berrah, Technical Counselor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

PART II OF II PARTS

Mr. Palmer then asked whether the Foreign Minister had any further points he would like to bring up regarding the Nigerian crisis.

Usher replied that he believed that the United States understood the Ivory Coast position and vice versa. Ivory Coast's position was essentially humanitarian. The Ivory Coast wants the bloodshed to stop as soon as possible; it does not care what form the eventual structure of Nigeria takes as long as the structure is not imposed by force. Usher believes that both sides must compromise. The talks in Niamey are encouraging, and Ivory Coast will do everything possible to keep the meeting from breaking up without a solution. In the meantime, Ivory Coast will participate to the extent possible in supplying medicine and food to the starving people of Biafra.

Mr. Palmer stated that it was clear that the United States and Ivory Coast have the same objectives but differ in approach. The United States is perhaps identified more with the FMG and Ivory Coast with Biafra. Nonetheless, the essential objectives are to persuade the belligerents to compromise and to save human life.

Usher asserted that Ivory Coast was not really identified more with one side than the other. Ivory Coast maintains diplomatic relations with both of the belligerents. Perhaps the United States believes that it is essential to preserve the former Nigerian Federation. Ivory Coast, on the other hand, does not believe that it will be possible to return to the status quo ante. Nevertheless, Ivory Coast would not object if negotiations between the two belligerents resulted in a unified Nigeria, as long as the solution were not imposed by force.

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PART I - POL IVCS - US

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Mr. Palmer admitted that he had perhaps been a little too formalistic in using the expression "identify". The United States does not have diplomatic relations with Biafra but maintains a close friendship for the Ibo people. The United States likewise has no preconceived design of what the final settlement of the Nigerian crisis should take and agrees that a militarily imposed solution is highly undesirable. Gowon thus far has been able to restrain the hawks in the FMG and appears to desire a peaceful solution. If no settlement is reached soon, however, the US fears that Gowon may have to give in to the FMG hawks. The main problem is the Ibo fear that the FMG might pursue a policy of genocide. It should be the task of Africa to convince the Ibo people that Gowon is not after genocide and to try to work out a solution, with foreign observers perhaps, which would reduce the fear of the Ibo people.

Usher agreed that the main problem was that of overcoming Ibo fear. For this very reason, it is essential that the FMG stop killing Ibos. Continuation of the war only makes the fear greater and negotiations more difficult. In the final analysis, it seems that the United States and Ivory Coast agree on the fundamental points: cessation of the slaughter and peaceful negotiation without a preconceived solution.

Mr. Palmer said that he had received some encouraging news from Niamey to the effect that the negotiators had agreed to a land corridor from the north for entrance of relief supplies into Biafra. The agreement still had to be ratified by the whole delegation but at least gave room for hope.

Usher stated that he had heard about the agreement. He was pleased with the solution but would be happier if agreement had been reached to end the war.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

11001

Approved in S, 8/6/68

Memorandum of Conversation

PART I OF VI PARTS

DATE: July 24, 1968

TIME: 11:00 a.m.

Place: Secretary's Office

SUBJECT: Nigerian Conflict

Foreign

PARTICIPANTS: H.E. Arsene Assouan Usher, Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Republic of Ivory Coast  
H.E. Timothee N'Guetta Ahoua, Ambassador of the Republic of  
Ivory Coast  
Mr. Julien Kacou, Chief of Cabinet, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Mr. Goulem Berah, Technical Advisor, Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs  
Mr. Emmanuel Nouama, Counselor of Embassy

United States

The Secretary  
The Honorable Joseph Palmer, 2nd Assistant Secretary for  
African Affairs  
Mr. William E. Schaefele, Jr., Country Director, AFCW  
Mr. Randolph Reed, Ivory Coast Country Officer  
Mrs. Sophia Porson, Interpreter  
See distribution on Page 2.

After welcoming Foreign Minister Usher and thanking him for the warm welcome accorded Vice President Humphrey, the Secretary asked for Usher's evaluation of events in Africa.

Usher said that his government had asked him to come to the United States within the framework of the periodic consultations agreed upon by President Houphouet-Boigny and Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

The Foreign Minister outlined Ivory Coast's policy on Nigeria and the grounds for it. After waiting eight months and weighing the alternatives, Ivory Coast had decided to take a position which certain quarters ascribed to less than noble motives: i.e., that it had allowed itself to be pressured by France and other countries into taking a stand that would protect those countries' interests in Biafra. However, Ivory Coast is one of the last countries France would be able to pressure. While a number of nations are wholly dependent financially on France, Ivory Coast is self-sufficient and hence not susceptible to pressure. In evidence, Usher submitted foreign policy positions taken by Ivory Coast which are diametrically opposed to those of France, and cited Ivory Coast's voting record in the UN, showing that Ivory Coast had voted roughly twice as often with the US and/or the USSR as with France.

The Secretary assured Usher that he could put aside any thoughts that he or President Johnson suspected Ivory Coast's motives. Our attitude towards the very complex Nigerian problem is based on far-reaching considerations involving the total world situation. We are

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concerned about the concept that every ethnic and cultural group need be an independent political unit, whether viable or not. The basic question is how best to achieve peace in Nigeria, and we fully realize that judgments on that may differ. That is how we see the GOIC's position, and we certainly do not question President Houphouet-Boigny's motives.

Usher stressed that the GOIC has always been motivated by the desire to see understanding achieved in the world by peaceful means--witness its stands on Rhodesia and Cyprus. The GOIC could not remain silent in the face of the slaughter on both sides in Nigeria. It was particularly concerned that two major powers, the UK and USSR, are supplying arms only to the FMG, and that the UAR and Algeria are doing so covertly and providing pilots to fly bombing missions over Ibo territory. The problem of the Ibos is basically fear of what will happen to them. That is a human problem and the only way to solve it and give the Ibos the reassurance they need is through negotiation.

The Secretary asked what the outlook was following the Niamey talks. Usher replied that the thrust of the efforts would be to put a stop to hostilities. Any decisions thereafter on the governmental structure in Nigeria would be up to the Nigerians themselves.

The Secretary stated that the US is following the situation in Nigeria closely and is trying to persuade both sides to arrive at a peaceful solution. We have urged the FMG to be compassionate towards the Ibos and to eschew brutality. But our influence in the world is not always as great as might be supposed, and we are not always listened to. Nonetheless, we will continue to make every effort to urge both sides to stop the fighting and negotiate a peaceful settlement.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 11090 241106Z

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ACTION EUR 20

INFO AF 09, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, MC 01,

ACDA 16, SCS 04, SCA 02, HEW 07, RSR 01, 170 W

P 241040Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4986  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION GENEVA

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SUBJECT: NIGERIA: DEBATE IN COMMONS

REF: LONDON 11058

CORRECTION PARA 4: "SUPPLIES ARE ALREADY IN TRANSIT FROM LAGOS  
TO ENUGU RPT ENUGU...."  
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ACTION AF 15.

INFO EUR 15, NIC 01, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INR 07,

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PC 04, AID 28, RSR 01, 148 W

R 241255Z JUL 68.  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 813  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

UNCLAS KADUNA 1194.

SUBJECT : NEW NIGERIAN PRAISES USSR FOR ROLE IN CURRENT CRISIS.

IN EDITORIAL ENTITLED OUR RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA  
JULY 24 NEW NIGERIAN HEAPS PRAISE ON USSR FOR ITS  
SUPPORT OF FMG IN TIME OF CRISIS. EDITORIAL NOTES  
THAT DESPITE QUOTE UNWARRANTED LACK OF WARMTH UNQUOTE  
IN NIGERIAN-USSR RELATIONS IN PAST, USSR QUOTE  
UNDERSTANDS NIGERIAN PROBLEM UNQUOTE BETTER THAN  
COUNTRIES QUOTE WITH WHOM WE HAVE HAD CLOSER RELATIONSHIP.  
UNQUOTE.  
USSR UNDERSTANDS THAT CAUSE OF WAR IS SECESSION  
WHICH NO NATION CAN TOLERATE AND THEREFORE SUPPORTS FMG  
WHILE OTHERS SHED QUOTE CROCODILE TEARS UNQUOTE OVER  
SUFFERINGS OF NIGERIANS. USSR ABLE VIEW CRISIS WITH  
QUOTE MATURITY AND EQUALITY UNQUOTE BECAUSE THERE NO TRACE  
OF QUOTE MASTER AND SERVANT UNQUOTE STATUS IN SOVIET-NIGERIAN  
RELATIONS. EDITORIAL CONCLUDES THAT THESE ARE STARK  
REALITIES OF NIGERIAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS AND QUOTE WE  
NEED NOT BE COMMUNISTS TO REALIZE THAT IT IS HIGH TIME  
THAT WE CORRECTED THE ERROR OF OMISSION IN OUR  
RELATIONSHIP WITH RUSSIA. AT THE DARKEST HOUR  
IT IS RUSSIA WHO STOOD FAST BY THIS NATION. WE  
OUGHT NOT FORGET THIS EASILY UNQUOTE.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

11002

Approved in S, 8/6/68 **Memorandum of Conversation**

TIME: 11:00 am  
DATE: July 24, 1968  
PLACE: Secretary's Office

SUBJECT: Infiltration into Africa by Moslem Pan-Arabs and Chinese Communists

**PARTICIPANTS:** Foreign  
H.E. Arsene Assouan Usher, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Ivory Coast  
H.E. Timothee N'Guetta Ahoua, Ambassador of the Republic of Ivory Coast  
Mr. Julien Kacou, Chief of Cabinet, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Mr. Goulem Berrah, Technical Advisor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Mr. Emmanuel Nouama, Counselor of Embassy  
United States  
The Secretary  
The Honorable Joseph Palmer 2nd, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs  
Mr. William E. Schaufele, Jr., Country Director, AFCW  
Mr. Randolph Reed, Ivory Coast Country Officer  
Mrs. Sophia Porson, Interpreter  
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PART II OF VI PARTS

Commenting further on the Nigerian problem (Part I of VI), Usher added that besides humanitarian considerations, the GOIC was motivated by concern that "fanatic Moslem Pan-Arabism," led by Nasser and Boumedienne, would gain major influence in the FMG by supplying arms and pilots and thus open the way to Chinese Communist infiltration. He listed several countries in Africa where the Moslem population is in the majority and cited instances of trouble, present or potential, involving Moslems. In the GOIC's view, in any contest in Africa between China and the USSR, China would be the victor. He realized that his analysis was very pessimistic and hoped such drastic events would not take place. Nonetheless, if some action in the Nigerian crisis is not taken now, the situation will become extremely dangerous for all.

The Secretary replied that the United States was not as pessimistic about the situation in Africa but appreciated the point of view of a friendly country which is close to the events in Africa. We understood and were aware of Nasser's ambitions. We also agreed that it is important to stop the fighting in Nigeria as soon as possible, for, as long as the fighting continues, there is ample opportunity for trouble-making by the USSR, Nasser, Algeria, and Communist China.

The Secretary agreed that the Communist Chinese presence in Africa bears close watching. However, we would be very surprised if Communist China managed to make significant inroads into Africa. The Communist Chinese in their arrogance have offended almost everyone with whom they have come in contact, including most of the Communist world. The incompatibility between what Mao wants and what Africa wants is so great that the Africans would reject the Communist Chinese if they were to come into Africa with any strength.

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INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, PI 04,

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P R 241130Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1682  
INFO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION GENEVA  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA  
DIA  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 11106

SUBJECT: NCB INTERVIEW WITH COL. ADEKUNLE OF NIGERIAN ARMY

1. EMBASSY INFORMED BY EDWARD SHEEHAN OF SATURDAY EVENING POST (PROTECT SOURCE) THAT HE WAS PRESENT IN PORT HARCOURT JULY 22 WHEN COL. BEN ADEKUNLE, COMMANDER 3RD MARINE DIVISION, INTERVIEWED BY NCB TEAM. SHEEHAN UNDERSTANDS INTERVIEW LIKELY BE ON HUNTLEY-BRINKLEY PROGRAM JULY 27.

2. REPORT BY NBC TEAM WILL PRESUMABLY ALSO SHOW DEVASTATION IN PORT HARCOURT AND SURROUNDING AREA AND SOMETHING OF MILITARY ACTION, DESCRIBED TO SHEEHAN AND NBC AS STRAIGHTENING OUT OF LINES AND MOPPING UP. ADEKUNLE PREDICTED CAPTURE OF AHOADA ON JULY 25.

3. PROBABLY MOST INTERESTING ASPECT OF REPORT WILL BE PERSONALITY OF ADEKUNLE HIMSELF, WHO DESCRIBED HIMSELF BEFORE CAMERAS AS "MACARTHUR OF NIGERIAN ARMY" AND RECALLED THAT MACARTHUR WAS FIRED BY TRUMAN. HE ALSO SPOKE OF SELF AS MAN OF ACTION, HAMPERED BY POLICY RESTRAINTS FROM LAGOS, ALTHOUGH HE VERY MUCH IN CHARGE MILITARY OPERATIONS IN FIELD.

4. ADEKUNLE MADE IT CLEAR HE WANTS TO FINISH UP WAR, WHICH HE CLAIMED HE COULD DO "IN FORTNIGHT". HE EXPRESSED BELIEF

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THIS WOULD BE MORE HUMANE IN LONG RUN. HE INSISTED IBOS WOULD NOT BE HURT AND THAT THEY WILL EVENTUALLY FEUD AMONG THEMSELVES WHEN THEY REALIZE HOW OJUKWU HAS MISLED THEM.

5. SHEEHAN DESCRIBED ADEKUNLE AS TOUGH, CALCULATING, AND MACHIAVELLIAN. HE NOTED STRONG AFFECTION FOR ADEKUNLE BY TROOPS.

6. SHEEHAN HAS LEFT FOR LONDON TO COMPLETE HIS ARTICLE AND MAY CALL AT EMBASSY FOR ANSWERS TO SPECIFIC QUESTIONS. HIS STORY WILL PROBABLY FAVOR FMG MORE THAN BIAFRAOV FROM WHAT SHEEHAN SAYS, IT SOUNDS AS IF NBC PIECE WILL ALSO INCLINE IN THAT DIRECTION.

7. COMMENT: SHEEHAN WAS OF OPINION ADEKUNLE KNEW EXACTLY WHAT HE WAS DOING IN INTERVIEW. WE OBVIOUSLY HAVE NOT HEARD THE LAST OF HIM.  
GP-3. MATHEWS.

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## CIRCULAR TELEGRAM

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Info:

ACTION: All African Diplomatic Posts, LUANDA, SALISBURY,  
All European Diplomatic Posts LOURENCO MARQUES.

Amconsul Lourenco Marques  
Amconsul Salisbury  
Amembassy MOSCOW POUCH

## INFORM CONSULS

Subj: Nigeria Summary

1. Posts may draw on following as appropriate in discussion with host government officials. Also suggest posts refer to earlier summary (State's 196528 of July 3) and Current Foreign Relations No. 29 of July 17.
2. In call at Department July 19, Nigerian Ambassador Iyalla reflected increasing FMG reaction to manner in which publicity concentrating on QTE Biafra. UNQTE He asserted that need for FMG authorization for relief efforts, whether by air or ground, virtually ignored in publicity, and recalled Gowon's statement that unauthorized overflights would be attacked by FMG forces. Iyalla also clearly disturbed that plight of those in FMG-controlled areas of East virtually unmentioned. Iyalla said Federal military commanders growing restive, believing that relief flights, by supporting Biafran morale, are prolonging conflict; commanders also suspect arms flights are being intermingled with those designated relief flights and arms then being rushed to fighting lines. Iyalla obviously wished convey idea that US and others should try to understand if FMG

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Clearances:

EUR-Mr. Schmah

Tel. Ext. 6364

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

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shortly proceeded with all-out military campaign as only way to end conflict quickly and permit assistance in volume needed to reach Ibos. Said FMG would not take offensive while talks proceeding but, if Ibos walked out again as at Kampala, thought military <sup>drive</sup> ~~drive~~ would recommence.

3. EM OAU Consultative Committee on Nigeria opened discussions in Niamey, Niger, beginning July 19, talking first with Gowon and later with Ojukwu. Committee issued two communiques that date. First communique a) requested FMG implement promptly its decision establish QTE mercy corridor UNQTE including appropriate collection points in order facilitate transportation essential food and medical supplies to affected areas and to guarantee safe freedom of movement within Federal controlled territory to international relief organization' agents; b) appealed to secessionists to accept food, medicine and <sup>clothing</sup> ~~clothing~~ transported through QTE mercy corridor UNQTE to collection points, and to ensure safe freedom of movement within secessionist-controlled territory to relief organizations' agents; c) thanked governments and organizations which have given assistance in relieving suffering of civilian populations and appealed to these and other governments and organizations to assure continuation this humanitarian support; d) urgently appealed to all EM OAU states assist in humanitarian effort; e) requested both parties urgently to resume peace talks in order ~~achieve~~ achieve final resolution of crisis with objective of preserving Nigeria's territorial integrity and guaranteeing security all its inhabitants, and expressed gratification two parties agreed resume talks under OAU auspices; and f) decided Consultative Committee should remain at disposal both parties and in contact with FMG and Ojukwu or their representatives, who may

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contact at any time any of the Committee's member governments. Second communique announced FMG and Ojukwu a) agreed initiate preliminary talks Niamey under chairmanship President Diori, and b) agreed resume peace negotiations in Addis Ababa, under Committee auspices, as soon as possible. ~~Ojukwu~~ Ojukwu subsequently stated that he and his delegation associated themselves with second communique only.

4. Military situation remains as reported earlier, i.e. FMG continues in control of about two-thirds of Biafra. FMG has launched no new push while talks proceeding, but is solidifying its position and increasing its ability to effect further advance.

5. Food and clothing stocks in Lagos or en route Nigeria appear roughly adequate for immediate future needs both sides except for relatively few medical items. Most serious problems are logistical, and FMG resources for transportation of relief supplies are meager. ICRC is searching for additional means of reducing the transport ~~problem~~ problem in cooperation with foreign governments and private agencies. British firms in Nigeria are contributing transport and drivers.

6. U.S. efforts toward Nigerian relief continue; they now comprise total commitment of about \$7 million from American public and private sources. Most striking official contribution has been <sup>one</sup> ~~one~~ million reserve fund USG had made available to ICRC.

7. Assistant Secretary Palmer appeared before Subcommittee on Africa, House Foreign Affairs Committee in open session on July 23 to present his views on his recent African trip. In discussing Nigeria, he said QTE General Gowon emphasized to me his strong desire to reach a peaceful settlement and his willingness, which

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was subsequently communicated to the Red Cross and OAU, to facilitate movement of humanitarian supplies to affected areas. It is my strong hope that Col. Ojukwu will respond to Red Cross and OAU urgings to make this possible. UNQTE He also said QTE We recognize that implementation of an effective relief program in Nigeria is an enormous enterprise. ICRC is expanding its organization to carry out such a program and has just named Mr. Auguste Lindt, Swiss Ambassador to Moscow and formerly UN High Commissioner for Refugees, as High Commissioner of Nigerian relief operations. UNQTE

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INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPMI 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, RSR 01, SRI 01,  
ORM 03, 143 W

R 240700Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2041  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NIAMEY 2173

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

REF: NIAMEY 2170

1. ACCORDING TO COMMENTS MADE BY ALISON AYIDA, FEDERAL NIGERIAN ECON DEVELOPMENT SECRETARY, TO PRESS CORRESPONDENTS WHEN BUTTONHOLED THIS MORNING IN CORRIDORS OF PALACE WHERE MEETINGS TAKING PLACE, ATMOSPHERE FOR TALKS "MUCH BETTER THAN AT KAMPALA". INDICATED AT SAME TIME THAT ALL SUBJECTS WERE OPEN TO DISCUSSION BY TWO DELEGATIONS IN NIAMEY.

2. BIAFRAN DELEGATE EKE MAY HAVE GONE BACK TO BIAFRA FOR CONSULTATION. CORRESPONDENTS SITTING AT PALACE THIS MORNING SAW HIM WALK OUT OF MEETING WITHOUT COMING BACK. BIAFRAN DELEGATE, WHEN ASKED ABOUT IT, SAID EKE WOULD BE BACK IN DAY OR TWO. POSSIBILITY THAT EKE MAY HAVE LEFT NIAMEY AT NOON ON HOUPHOUET'S JET WHICH WAS REPORTEDLY BEARING TWO EX-DAHOMEAN PRESIDENTS

BACK LOME. RYAN

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Manney 2173  
7-24-68

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Authority VND 959503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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CONFIDENTIAL 823

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02174 241100Z.

11  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPMI 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, RBR 01, 139 W

R 240705Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2042  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

CONFIDENTIAL NIAMEY 2174

LONDON PASS COMMONWEALTH OFFICE FROM MCMULLEN TO TEBBIT.  
OTHERS PASS APPROPRIATE BRITISH MISSIONS.

REF: NIAMEY 2155

1. POSSIBLE EXPLANATION YESTERDAY'S AFP CANARD SUGGESTING TALKS ABOUT TO BE MOVED TO ADDIS HAS BEEN SUGGESTED TO ME BY AN INCIDENT REPORTED BY TOM MANGOLD BBC HEARING YESTERDAY EVENING THAT BIAFRANS WERE AT LOGGERHEADS WITH TELLI BECAUSE THEY INSISTED AGENDA AGREED HAD BEEN FOR SUBSTANTIVE TALKS IN NIAMEY NOT RPT NOT ADDIS. HE CROSS-EXAMINED TELLI IN FRONT OF CAMERA. THE LATTER FLUFFED, REFERRING MANGOLD TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE. UNTIL CAMERA TURNED OFF, THEN SAID DEFINITELY THAT AGENDA WAS FOR ADDIS.

2. THIS SUGGESTS TELLI WOULD LIKE TO GET TALKS AWAY FROM NIAMEY, WHERE DIORI LEAVES HIM IN NO DOUBTS TO WHO IS CHIEF AND WHO IS SMALL BOY, TO HIS OWN STAMPING GROUND. HE MAY WELL THEREFORE BE SOURCE OF AFP STORY WHICH CORRESPONDENT HAD TOLD ME WAS A LEAK.

GP-3 RYAN

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10/5/05





POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02195 242038Z

84  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10.

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, SR 01, ORMI 03, AID 28, RSRI 01.

/141 W

P 241730Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2057  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
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AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NIAMEY 2195

LONDON PASS FONOFF. OTHER PASS BRITISH MISSIONS

SUBJ: OAU TALKS SITREP AS OF 1800 JULY 24

1. MEETING OF FOUR MAN SUBCOMMITTEE HELD FOR ABOUT TWO HOURS:  
MORNING JULY 24. SUBCOMMITTEE REPORTEDGY INCLUDES ALISON  
AYIDA AND FEMI OKUNU FOR FEDERAL AND ENI NJOKU AND UDO  
AFFIA FOR BIAFRA. PRESS CORPS INFORMED BY DIALLO TELL MEETING  
WOULD RESUME 1500 AND PRESS TOLD TO RETURN AT 1800.

2. EMBASSY OFFICER IN NOON TALK WITH FOREIGN PRESS CORPS GROUP  
FOUND FIRST SHIFT IN THEIR OPTIMISM THAT MEETINGS BETWEEN TWO SIDES  
COMING ALONG WELL. THEY NOTED THIS MORNING THAT PLENARY SESSION  
NOT RPT NOT HELD AT NOON AS ORIGINALLY INDICATED. INSTEAD NJOKU  
WENT IMMEDIATELY AFTER SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING INTO PALACE ANTEROOM  
WITH DIALLO TELL TO TALK TO PRESIDENT DIORI. CORRESPONDENTS.

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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02195 242038Z

COMMENT THAT NJOKU NO LONGER SMILING WHEN HE EMERGES FROM TALKS. NIGERIAN DELEGATION ON OTHER HAND REPORTEDLY QTE STILL SMILING. UNQTE. OKUNU IN FACT TOLD PRESS CORRESPONDENT THAT THEY HOPED TO WIND UP THINGS TODAY.

3. BRITISH CHARGE MCMULLEN HAD OPPORTUNITY TO ASK SECSTATE SIDIKOU TODAY HOW TALKS BETWEEN TWO SIDES COMING ALONG. HE SHRUGGED AND SAID QTE ALL SUCH MEETINGS HAVE THEIR UPS AND DOWNS. UNQTE.

4. COMMENT: WILL ADVISE FURTHER IF AFTERNOON SESSION INDEED HELD AND IF ANY COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AS TELLI IMPLIED MAY BE CASE.

RYAN

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION

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**AIRGRAM**

POL 18 NIGERIA

POL 27. BIAFRANIGERIA

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A-137

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO : KADUNA, LAGOS

JUL 23 11 15 AM 1968

FROM : Amconsul Ibadan

DATE: July 24, 1968

SUBJECT : WESTERN NIGERIA: Latest Missionary Reports  
on Conditions in the East

REF : Ibadan's A-108; A-110; A-111

On July 24, 1968, the reporting officer spoke to Dr. Edgar Burks (Amcit, protect), the General Secretary of the Nigerian Baptist Mission, and the Rev. Gerald L. Falley (Amcit, protect), of the Assemblies of God Mission. Both men had received information within the past month on conditions in the three states in the East.

Dr. Burks said that the latest letter from Mr. Ralph Davis (Ibadan's A-108), who is still at the Baptist Mission and Hospital at Joinkarama in the Rivers State, was dated June 25 and was mailed from Ahoada. The letter said that the local people did not have any money to buy things and that imported articles were in increasing short supply. Davis told what their food then consisted of and Dr. Burks said that it was almost all "native chop." Burks said that he was not worried about Davis and Norman (Amcit) as there is always plenty of fish (the hospital is located on a river bank) and lots of fresh fruits and vegetables. Burks also described the hospital as being located eight miles up river from Ubeta and inaccessible except by water.

Burks said that he had talked with the secretary to the Christian Council on July 23. The secretary said that they were having a terrible time trying to arrange transport for medical supplies and teams. The military was unable to furnish more than one seat on airplanes going to Port Harcourt and it was impossible to get any space on ships going to the East. As a result the Christian Council had medical teams sitting in Lagos doing nothing and large quantities of supplies stockpiled and not being used.

In a separate conversation the Rev. Falley (see Ibadan A-110, a report on his previous trip to Emugu) said that one of their missionaries,

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Drafted by: WCMithoefer, Jr.:gor 7/24/68

Contents and Classification Approved by: EMB:POL:EEERamsaur

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JUL 26 P. 12 39

CHIEF OF BUREAU

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By M. NARA Date 10/5/05

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a Miss Martha Jacobson (Amcits), went into Ogoja about two weeks ago. She had seen the Administrator for Ogoja and he said that he had just returned from seeing the Governor of the South East State in Calabar. The Governor had given orders that all expatriates who had previously resided in the Ogoja area were now free to return. As a result Miss Jacobson, Miss Lillian Bach and Miss Maude Florida (both Amcits) were returning from Jos to reopen the Assemblies of God mission in Ogoja within the next few days. They could go direct to Ogoja by way of Gboko and by-pass Enugu. Falley said that as all three women were middle aged "or past" and were very responsible people, he was not worried about their welfare. In addition, a Mr. and Mrs. Godbey, who normally would return from leave in the United States in November, are being requested to come back early in order to reopen the mission at Obudu, about 30 miles east of Ogoja. Falley said that the cattle ranch at Obudu was still operating under expatriate supervision and that the missionaries would obtain meat and produce when the truck from the cattle ranch made its weekly trips into Ogoja.

Falley said that he and the Rev. William Sikes of the Anglican All Saint's Church in Ibadan are planning to go to Enugu via the Lokoja ferry (on his previous trip there were two ferrys operating: 1 carried one truck and two cars, the other, three trucks and two cars) on July 29 and return on August 3. They hope to spend two days in Enugu. Falley has a pass from the Second Division (Rear) Headquarters, but must go to Makurdi to get permission to go to Enugu. They are taking a Peugeot 404 small truck which will be loaded with powdered milk and meat donated by the Ibadan churches for distribution to the people in the Enugu area. They are deliberately not taking a truck since they have heard that there are delays up to one week for trucks to get across. They wish to see if it is practicable to distribute their own relief supplies or rely on the ICRC to take care of the problem. Falley hopes to be able to clean up his house in Enugu and salvage anything left prior to his departure to the United States for a year's leave on August 27. He promised to report his impressions to the Consulate on his return.

Comment: These remarks refer to areas outside the jurisdiction of this Consulate but are being reported in view of the paucity of information available on conditions in the East and to keep the addressees informed of the presence of American citizens in the area. While we expressed appreciation to the Rev. Falley for keeping us informed of his travel plans and those of his fellow missionaries, we also made it clear that Americans were still discouraged from travelling in the East as we could offer them no protection there.

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By <i>MM</i> NARA Date <i>10/5/05</i>



OS/IN/ACTION

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## AIRGRAM

POL 7 NIGERIA  
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RM/R	REP	AF
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AGR	COM	FRB
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3	20	5
OSD	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
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A-739  
NO.

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO : Amembassy MOSCOW

JUL 22 1968

FROM : Amembassy LAGOS

DATE:

SUBJECT : Soviet-Nigerian Communiqué

REF

Attached is text of communiqué issued at the completion of Dr. Okoi Arikpo's visit to the Soviet Union.

The statement, which was couched in general terms, contained no surprises. The Nigerians obtained support for their position in the civil war. The Soviet Union, the communiqué said, "proceeds from the premise that attempts to dismember the Federal Republic of Nigeria run counter to the interests and aspiration of the Nigerian people and the interests of peace." In turn the Nigerians expressed approval of Soviet disarmament initiatives and subscribed to a fairly innocuous declaration supporting "the inalienable right of the Vietnamese people to shape their own future in accordance with the Geneva Agreement of 1954." Both parties stated their approval of the Security Council resolution calling for a withdrawal of Israeli forces to the May '67 boundaries, their opposition to the "racist regimes" in South Africa and Rhodesia and to Portuguese "crimes" in Africa and their support for strengthening the United Nations.

Decon on receipt

Enclosure:  
Press Release from Federal Ministry  
of Information, July 22, 1968

MATHEWS

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FORM 4-62 DS-323

Drafted by: *RJD*  
POL: RJDaley: sc 7/23/68  
Clearances:

Contents and Classification Approved by:  
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By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

POC 27 BIAPRA-NIGERIA  
VN POC 27-9 BIAPRA-  
NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 LONDON 11058 231507Z

50  
ACTION EUR 20

INFO AF 09, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, MC 01,

ACDA 16, SCS 04, SCA 02, HEW 07, RSR 01, 170 W

P 231409Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4966  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION GENEVA

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SUBJ: NIGERIA/ DEBATE IN COMMONS:

1. THANKS TO OAU DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN NIAMEY DEBATE ON NIGERIA IN HOUSE OF COMMONS JULY 22 WAS MILD AND ANTI-CLIMACTIC. COMMONWEALTH SECTY THOMSON WAS VIRTUALLY SPARED FROM ATTACK ON GOVT'S ARMS-SUPPLY POLICY WHEN SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME, FOR CONSERVATIVES, CONCEDED IN HIS OPENING STATEMENT THAT THERE WAS "SOME EVIDENCE THAT GENERAL GOWON WAS INFLUENCE BY COUNSELS OF BRITISH GOVT. (AND) SUFFICIENT WEIGHT MUST BE GIVEN TO CONSIDERATION THAT IF ARMS FOR NIGERIAN GOVT WERE WITHDRAWN, ANY INFLUENCE WIELDED BY HMG WOULD TOTALLY DISAPPEAR." THIS STATEMENT ESTABLISHED TONE FOR TORY ARGUMENTS AND ASSURED GOVT OF EASY RIDE. DEBATE ENDED WITHOUT VOTE.

2. CW SECT THOMSON OPENED FOR GOVT WITH BRIEF REPORT ON LORD HUNT'S MISSION TO NIGERIA. HE SAID HUNT ESTIMATED ROUGHLY ONE MILLION PEOPLE WERE IN DIRE DISTRESS ON BOTH SIDES OF FIRING LINE. IN SO. STATE CIVILIAN DEATHS WERE POSSIBLY RUNNING AS HIGH AS 200-300 PER DAY. "IMMEDIATE"

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NEED", SAID THOMSON, "IS NOT MONEY, BUT NEED TO BUILD UP ADEQUATE DISTRIBUTION ORGANIZATION". LORD HUNT HAD CONCLUDED THAT ALL AID SHOULD BE CHanneled THROUGH ICRC COORDINATING MACHINERY. OTHER PRESSING NEEDS WERE FOR FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES, DOCTORS AND RELIEF WORKERS, AND TRANSPORT. GOVT WAS MOVING AHEAD TO ASSIST IN THESE AREAS. IT BELIEVED GRANT OF 250,000 POUNDS WAS ADEQUATE FOR PRESENT TIME, "TOGETHER WITH DONATIONS BY OTHER GOVTS AND PRIVATE AGENCIES ALL OVER WORLD."

3. TICKING OFF VARIOUS RELIEF SUPPLIES AND SERVICES PROVIDED BY HMG AT HUNT'S RECOMMENDATION, CW SECT LISTED THREE MEDICAL TEAMS RECRUITED BY SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND WHICH WERE FLOWN TO LAGOS JULY 17 AND 18 (ANOTHER TWO TEAMS WERE GOING SHORTLY), TWENTY 3-TON TRUCKS AND FIVE LAND-ROVERS RELEASED FROM ARMY STOCKS AND EXPECTED ARRIVE IN LAGOS THIS WEEK; OTHER VEHICLES, MAINLY TRUCKS, ON ORDER (OXFAM HAD AGREED TO PAY FOR TWENTY-FIVE OF THEM); SIX FIELD AMBULANCES TO BE SHIPPED THIS WEEK FROM LIVERPOOL; AND FIFTY VEHICLES PROVIDED BY BRITISH FIRMS IN NIGERIA.

4. SPEAKING OF PROBLEMS OF DISTRIBUTION, THOMSON SAID LORD HUNT WAS OF FIRM OPINION THAT LAND CORRIDOR WAS MOST EFFECTIVE ROUTE. THIS METHOD HAD ALSO BEEN ENDORSED BY U THANT, ICRC AND OAU. "SUPPLIES ARE ALREADY IN TRANSIT FROM LAGOS TO EUROPE AND CAN START FLOWING AS SOON AS COL. OJUKWU SAYS WORD." LORD HUNT HAD ALSO PRESSED FOR EMERGENCY AIRLIFT TO SHIFT STOCKS ACCUMULATED IN FERNANDO PO. THOMSON HAD "JUST HEARD THAT ICRC HAVE ASKED BIAFRANS FOR USE OF AIRSTRIP UNDER COMPLETE CONTROL OF RED CROSS FOR USE BY DAY AND NIGHT". THIS PROPOSAL COULD "UNLOCK PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT DOOR" AND HE HOPED OJUKWU WOULD ACCEPT IT. IN THIS CONNECTION CW SECTY REGRETTED BIAFRANS HAD NOT SEEN FIT TO PERMIT HUNT VISIT IBOLAND. LORD HUNT WAS STILL WILLING TO GO IF VISIT WOULD BE WELCOME AND HE WOULD RECEIVE ALL NECESSARY COOPERATION.

5. IN HIS MEASURED STATEMENT DOUGLAS-HOME SAID OPPOSITION WOULD FOLLOW EVENTS CLOSELY TO SEE HOW GOVT USED ITS INFLUENCE ON FMG. THERE WERE TWO SITUATIONS IN WHICH IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE FOR BRITISH TO HALT ARMS SHIPMENTS: IF FMG INVADED IBO HEARTLAND AND IF "TEMPORARY SUSPENSION" OF ARMS MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO SUCCESS OF PEACE TALKS. REFERRING TO PROBLEMS OF EMERGENCY

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PAGE 03 LONDON 11058 231507Z

AIRLIFT DOUGLAS-HOME ENDORSED STIPULATION THAT DESIGNATED  
AIRSTRIps SHOULD BE UNDER COMPLETE CONTROL OF ICRC BY DAY AND  
NIGHT.

6. COMMENT: BARRING SOME DRAMATIC TURN FOR THE WORSE ON  
BATTLEFIELD OR AT PEACE TABLE, GOVT, HAS PROBABLY SURVIVED  
LAST NIGERIAN DEBATE IN COMMONS BEFORE RECESS. BRUCE

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CONFIDENTIAL 853

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02172 232222Z

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ACTION: SS 70

INFO CIAE 00, /070 W

P 232015Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2040

CONFIDENTIAL NIAMEY 2172

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REF: NIAMEY 2171

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

RE REFTEL DIORI ASKED ME TO ASK OUR EXPERTS IN WASHINGTON IF WE KNEW OR HAD ANY IDEAS ON HOW THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE ASSURED OR GUARANTEED THAT PLANES FLYING RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO BIAFRA USING LIBREVILLE OR OTHER NON-FMG AIRPORT FOR TRANS-SHIPMENT DID NOT OR COULD NOT CARRY ARMS.

COMMENT: ASSUME DIORI POSSIBLY HAS IN MIND SPECIAL DEVICES TO DETECT ARMS OR SOME SPECIAL INSPECTION ACTIVITIES. HE IS OBVIOUSLY SEARCHING FOR SOME IDEA HE COULD USE TO BREAK IMPASSE ON STAGING POINTS. WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE WHETHER WE ARE IN POSITION BE POSSIBLY HELPFUL IN THIS INSTANCE.

GP-3 RYAN

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Principals

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Geographic

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Functional

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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10  
CIA 1  
DOD 1  
USIA 4  
NSA 1

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

PC 1  
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AGF 3  
COM 2  
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BOB 1  
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NIGERIA  
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CONFIDENTIAL 010

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02171 240026Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15,RSR 01,CIAE 00,DODE 00,GPM 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSAE 00,  
NSC 10,P 04,RSC 01,SP 02,SS 20,USIA 12,OC 06,CCO 00,SR 01,ORM 03,  
AID 28,SCA 02,SCS 04,IO 13,153 W

P 231920Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2039  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
INFO RUTAIJ/AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN 438  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
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AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

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CONFIDENTIAL NIAMEY 2171

SUBJ: NIGERIA-BIAFRAN TALKS

REF: STATE 206305 AND 206390 (NOTAL); NIAMEY 2170.

LONDON PASS: FOREIGN OFFICE, OTHERS PASS: BRITISH MISSIONS.

1. I SAW DIORI AFTERNOON JULY 23 TO SAY WE AGREEABLE PASS  
MESSAGES AS HE HAD REQUESTED. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION.

2. DIORI WAS IN MORE PESSIMISTIC MOOD CONCERNING CURRENT  
STATUS OF TALKS. HE INDICATED THAT ONE OF THE BASIC PROBLEMS  
HAS BEEN INABILITY TO GET OUUKWUI TO MAKE SOME CONCESSION AND  
THE FACT THAT THERE CONTINUES TO BE A GREAT AMOUNT OF SUSPICION  
ON BOTH SIDES.

3. HE SAID THAT AS A RESULT OF CONFUSION AND BIAFRAN ATTITUDE  
ON QUESTION OF "ORDRE DU JOUR" (NIAMEY 2170) WHICH EVERYONE  
BELIEVED HAD BEEN ACCEPTED, THAT A BIAFRAN DELEGATE HAD GONE

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POL 27 BIAFRA-  
NIGERIA

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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02171 240026Z

BACK TO BIAFRA TODAY FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH OJUKWU ON THIS AND OTHER POINTS. DIORI SAID HE RECOGNIZED THAT THIS COULD WELL BE NEGOTIATING TACTICS ON PART OF THE BIAFRANS.

4. HE STATED THAT THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT HAD MADE CERTAIN CONCESSIONS IN CONNECTION WITH LAND TRANSPORT OF RELIEF SUPPLIES BUT THAT ON THE QUESTION OF AIR RELIEF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS INSISTING THAT THE PLANES FIRST LAND IN FEDERAL TERRITORY AND SHIPMENT OFFLOADED, PRESUMABLY INSPECTED, AND THEN TRANSPORTED TO BIAFRA. THE FMG SAYS IT CANNOT APPROVE ANY FLIGHTS INTO BIAFRAN FROM PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES OR LIBREVILLE. THE FMG FEARS THAT SOME OF THE PLANES GOING INTO BIAFRAN FROM NON-FMG TERRITORY COULD CARRY ARMS TO THE BIAFRANS. DIORI POINTED OUT THAT THE PROBLEM OF INADEQUATE AIR FIELDS MEANT THAT AS CLOSE A STAGING AREA AS POSSIBLE WILL HAVE TO BE USED TO FLY SUPPLIES INTO BIAFRA IN SMALLER PLANES. IN TALKING ABOUT AIR RELIEF, DIORI AT ONE POINT, WITHOUT ELABORATION COMMENTED THAT THE FMG SAYS USE PORT HARCOURT WOULD PRESENT PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF CONDITION PORT AND OTHER REASONS WHICH HE DID NOT SPECIFY.

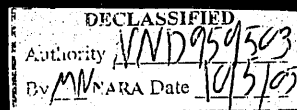
5. DIORI SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN ON THE PHONE WITH HOUPHOUET AND WITH BONGO AND HAS ASKED THEM TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS WITH OJUKWU. FROM WHAT DIORI SAID THAT HE HAD HEARD APPARENTLY HOUPHOUET WAS NOT SUCCESSFUL IN THE ABIDJAN MEETINGS IN GETTING OJUKWU TO MODIFY HIS POSITION ON THE BASIC ISSUES. DIORI INDICATED AGAIN THAT IF OJUKWU COULD MAKE SOME MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF RENOUNCING FULL SECESSION AND AGREE TO TALK ABOUT A UNIFIED NIGERIA THAT IT WOULD CONSTITUTE A POSITIVE AND NECESSARY MOVE TOWARD SETTLEMENT.

6. I COMMENTED ON THE OJUKWU PRESS CONFERENCE IN BIAFRA AND SAID THAT WE HAD BEEN SOMEWHAT ENCOURAGED ABOUT SOME OF THE THINGS OJUKWU HAD SAID. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT SO HAD HE BUT THAT THE INABILITY TO GET OJUKWU SO FAR TO MAKE NECESSARY COMPROMISES TO GET LAND AND SEA CORRIDORS FINALLY PENED WAS SOMEWHAT DISCOURAGING.

7. HE MENTIONED SEVERAL TIMES THE DIFFICULTIES THAT ARE BEING ENCOUNTERED IN LESSENING THE SUSPICIONS WHICH PREVAIL ON BOTH SIDES. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT EVERYONE HAS TO HAVE PATIENCE IN NEGOTIATIONS SUCH AS THIS AND HE HOPES THAT PERHAPS THE

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 NIAMEY 02171 240026Z

RETURN OF THE BIAFRAN DELEGATE MAY PUT THINGS IN A MORE FAVORABLE PERSPECTIVE.

8. DIORI SAID ALSO HE ENVISAGED THE NIAMEY TALKS AND THE PROPOSED ADDIS PEACE CONFERENCE AS REALLY PART AND PARCEL OF THE SAME OPERATION AND THAT HE EXPECTS THAT THE NEGOTIATING TEAMS NOW IN NIAMEY COULD CARRY THINGS ALONG TO THE POINT WHERE POLITICAL DECISIONS REQUIRING THE PARTICIPATION OF THE TWO LEADERS WOULD BE REQUIRED. HE SAID JUST EXACTLY WHAT THIS WILL BE HE IS UNABLE TO SAY AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME.

9. DIORI INDICATED THAT ON THE QUESTION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES THE ATTITUDE OF SEVERAL COUNTRIES AS WELL AS CHURCH, RELIGIOUS, AND RED CROSS ORGANIZATIONS INDICATED THAT ADEQUATE SUPPLIES OF MEDICINES, FOOD, ETC., COULD BE MOVED INTO BIAFRA IF OJUKWU COULD AGREE TO THE LAND ROUTES AND IF FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT COULD ACCEPT THE USE OF A PLACE SUCH AS LIBREVILLE AS A STAGING AREA FOR AIR RELIEF.

10. WHILE I WAS WITH DIORI, SOME MEMBERS DELEGATIONS LEFT CONFERENCE ROOM AND DIORI IMMEDIATELY CALLED FOR HIS ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF CABINET, MAITOURARE GADUO WHO WAS IN MEETING ROOM AND ASKED WHAT WAS HAPPENING. MAITOURARE AND NIGER'S AMBASSADOR TO NIGERIA BOULAMA BOTH CAME OVER TO DIORI AND EXPLAINED THAT DELEGATIONS HAD AGREED TO ESTABLISH WORKING GROUP EACH SIDE TO WORK ON SOME PARTICULAR POINT. WE PARTED WITH DIORI SAYING THAT HE HOPED HE WILL BE ABLE VIEW THINGS TOMORROW IN MORE OPTIMISTIC LIGHT AND THAT MAYBE SMALLER GROUP MIGHT MAKE BETTER PROGRESS.

COMMENT: BELIEVE FACT DELEGATIONS NOW GETTING DOWN TO BASIC ESSENTIALS AND DETAILS MEANS INITIAL EUPHORIA WHICH RESULTED FROM FACT COMMITTEE SUCCEEDED IN GETTING TWO LEADERS HERE AND THEIR DELEGATIONS TALKING WAS PASSED. THE HIGH OPTIMISM ORIGINALLY SHOWN WAS BOUND TO BE AFFECTED ONCE THE GOING GOT TOUGHER.

WE, OF COURSE, ARE REPORTING ONLY ON DIORI'S REACTIONS AND I HAVE NOT HAD OPPORTUNITY TO TALK TO NIGERIAN CHARGE OR OTHER MEMBERS NIGERIAN DELEGATION. DIORI HAS PROBABLY HOPED THAT INITIAL PROGRESS MADE FIRST TWO DAYS WOULD CONTINUE. FEEL THAT FIRST TWO SESSIONS WHICH WERE PROBABLY

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PAGE 04 NIAMEY 02171 240026Z

PROCEDURAL IN NATURE WERE ABLE TO CAPITALIZE ON WORK DONE EARLIER AT LONDON AND KAMPALA, AND THIS MAY ACCOUNT FOR PROGRESS TO DATE. DIORI RECOGNIZES JOCKEYING FOR POSITION AND NEGOTIATION TACTICS ARE GOING TO RESULT IN UPS AND DOWNS. SHOULD ALSO BEAR IN MIND PRESSURE DIORI HAS BEEN UNDER FOR PAST TEN DAYS, WHICH MIGHT JUST NOW BE STARTING TO TELL AND TO AFFECT HIS USUALLY OPTIMISTIC APPROACH. THE REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUE FILE OPTIMISTIC REPORTS, SOME OF WHICH BASED ON COMMENTS THEY GETTING FROM VARIOUS DELEGATES. ACTING PAO WHO HAPPENED BE AT PALACE WHEN THIS EVENING'S SMALL WORKING GROUP ADJOURNED AT 8:00 PM REPORTS BOTH DELEGATIONS APPEARED BE IN GOOD MOOD AND PARTED IN APPARENT FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE WITH COUPLE PARTICIPANTS EVEN SHAKING

HANDS AND WAVING GOODBY, ALSO DURING EARLIER BREAK TWO MEMBERS NIGERIAN DELEGATION APPROACHED SEVERAL MEMBERS BIAFRAN DELEGATION STANDING IN HALL AND HAD WHAT APPEARED BE SHORT "SMALL TALK" CONVERSATION.

GP-3 RYAN

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*Pol 27 Biafra Nigeria*

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INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, /030 W

01

O 201249Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4928

T O P S E C R E T LONDON 11005

FOR ACTING SECRETARY FROM BRUCE

SUBJ: UK ARMS POLICY ON NIGERIA

REF: DEPTEL 205721

1. IN ACCORDANCE INSTRUCTIONS TO DELIVER OR NOT DELIVER SUBJECT MESSAGE COMPLETELY WITHIN MY OWN DISCRETION, I AM OPPOSED FOR THE PRESENT TO MAKING SUCH AN APPROACH FOR FOLLOWING REASONS.

2. RECENT EVOLUTION OF PROBLEM, INDICATING NEW PEACE TALKS TO BE HELD UNDER OAU AUSPICES, LIKELY TO ALTER HERETOFORE PREDICTED COURSE OF COMMONS DEBATE.

3. I REALIZE SENIOR PERMANENT OFFICIALS OF CO HAVE EXPRESSED ANXIETY LEST GOVT CHANGE POLICY UNDER PUBLIC PRESSURE (LONDON 10939) BUT I BELIEVE OUR ENCOURAGEMENT WOULD BE OF LITTLE VALUE TO GOVT UNLESS MADE PUBLIC. THIS WOULD DANGEROUSLY, UNNECESSARILY AND ON WHOLE UNFAVORABLY INVOLVE US. IF HMG CONSIDERED MESSAGE USEFUL I FEAR IT WOULD BE LEAKED TO PRESS.

4. WILL GIVE FURTHER CONSIDERATION OVER WEEKEND IN LIGHT OF POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS.

5. MUCH APPRECIATE BEING GRANTED DISCRETION THIS MATTER.

BRUCE

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31

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19 JUL 68 22 46Z

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LONDON IMMEDIATE

Info:

INFO : Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

STATE

EXDIS

FROM ACTING SECRETARY FOR AMBASSADOR BRUCE

SUBJECT: UK Arms Policy on Nigeria

REF: London 10939

1. I do believe it is desirable that British Government not abandon its policy of supplying arms to the FMG. Among other undesirable results is that this would leave Soviet Union as the sole major supplier. Reftel implies that a message from us to this effect might be helpful even if the message could not be made public. And of course it could not be made public because of our own policy. I do not want us to slip into a position of having to pay a heavy price to the British to get them to stand up to criticism in their own parliament. The furthest we could go would be reiteration of our respect for HMG as the traditional supplier of arms to Nigeria. Given this caveat and if you believe the following message would be at all helpful in resisting parliamentary pressure, you may, completely within your own discretion, deliver the following message or the substance of it from me to FonSec Michael Stewart.

2. QTE. I am fully aware of the increasingly serious pressures being brought to bear to alter HMG's position on supply of arms to FMG. We have been

Drafted by:

AFW:RMMelbourne:RFSmith:emb 7/19/68

Tel. Ext.

2619

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

U - Nicholas deB Katzenbach

Clearance:

AF - Mr. Quimby

EUR/BMI - Mr. Goldstein (substance)

S/S - Mr. O'Donohue

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8-65

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By

MV NARA Date 10/5/05

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LONDON IMMEDIATE

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### Classification

heartened by that position and believe that any change at this critical juncture would have effects contrary to the intentions of those seeking to change this policy. It could ~~be~~ play into the hands of the Soviet Union, as well as strengthen extremism in Nigeria to point of posing real threat to Gowon's personal leadership.

[illegible]

KATZENBACH

FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
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5-C-121

Rabbi Gordon L. Geller  
Central Synagogue of Nassau County  
430 De Mott Avenue  
Rockville Centre, New York 11570

Dear Rabbi Geller:

Secretary Rusk has asked me to reply to your letter dated July 5  
regarding the situation in Nigeria.

We believe that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC),  
with its reputation as an impartial and non-political body, is in  
the best position to function as the coordinator of relief to Nigeria  
and Biafra. It has functioned well in this capacity up to now and has  
gained the confidence of both the Federal Military Government of Ni-  
geria and the Biafran authorities.

According to a press report of July 10, 1968, after conferring with  
the President of the ICRC, U. N. Secretary General U Thant appealed  
to Biafran leaders to take advantage of Nigeria's offer to open a  
land corridor for relief supplies. He also said that the UN had to  
regard the Nigerian conflict as a purely internal matter in which it  
could not intervene unless its members called on it to do so. We  
think this is a commendable initiative. In view of the recognized  
non-political role of the ICRC, we think that this organization is  
the best means of getting assistance rapidly to those in need of help  
in Nigeria.

Although reliable figures are difficult to obtain, we have no doubt  
that there is an urgent need for large quantities of food and other  
relief supplies within the area of Nigeria affected by the civil war.  
In this regard, President Johnson stated on July 11, 1968 that the  
American people have watched with growing grief and horror the ter-  
rible loss of life and suffering in Nigeria. We understand that  
relief needs are greatest in the area still under control of the  
Biafran regime. But thousands of innocent people in areas control-  
led by the Federal Military Government are also in need of assistance.

The United States Government has been participating actively in relief  
efforts coordinated by the International Committee of the Red Cross.  
A U. S. Air Force airplane and a U. S. Government chartered aircraft  
recently flew more than 68 tons of drugs and high protein food to  
Lagos, intended for use in war-ravaged areas under both Federal and  
Biafran control. We are also helping to defray the cost of internal  
transport of relief supplies. We have donated four trucks to the

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- 2 -

Nigerian Red Cross, have given \$100,000 from disaster relief funds to the International Red Cross through the American Red Cross, and are providing over a million dollars worth of food aid through the Catholic Relief Services. On July 12, the United States Government announced a further donation of more than 5,000 tons of food, costing \$1.3 million to UNICEF to be distributed in the war area through the International Red Cross. Further U. S. Government measures to relieve the plight of all persons suffering as a result of the civil war are being studied. In addition, Catholic Relief Services, Church World Services, the American Red Cross and other American voluntary relief agencies have contributed \$1.7 million in relief assistance from their own resources. Through the International Committee of the Red Cross, other countries including the United Kingdom, Germany, Norway and Sweden have also donated cash and substantial quantities of food, medicine and other relief supplies.

We hope that shipments of relief supplies can be sent into Biafra by truck since the land route appears to be the only practical way to furnish the massive assistance required; this is made even more relevant by the current rainy season and the improvised airstrips in Biafra. However, although the Nigerian Government has agreed to permit the transfer of food and medicine under a flag of truce, the Biafran leaders have so far refused and have insisted that donors, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, continue to send supplies directly by a hazardous and inefficient airlift from points outside Nigeria. Concerned relief agencies with our support have been making efforts to obtain Biafran agreement to some modification of this position with a view towards facilitating aid to the innocent and non-political victims of the war within Biafran territory. Simultaneously, both the International Committee of the Red Cross and the United Kingdom are examining with the Nigerian Government means of expanding an airlift to its maximum potential capacity. The United States Government, with the International Committee of the Red Cross and other governments and relief agencies, is also studying ways to get more relief supplies into Biafra.

Sincerely,

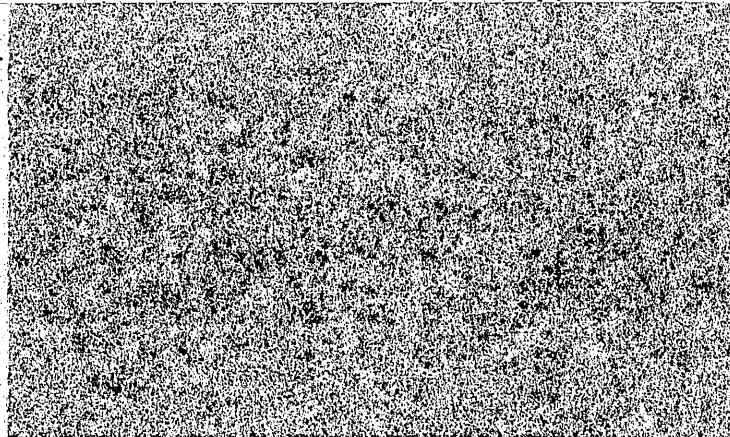
R. G. Cleveland  
Director  
Office of Public Services

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
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*APW*

TO AF - Mr. Heubeck

DATE 7/10/68

SUBJECT Ltr to S fm Gordon L. Geller dtd 7/5 re the imminent death by starvation of Biafran civilians.

**ACTION**

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GLKelly - 4734

SECRETARIAT STAFF

EXT.

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CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE  
OF NASSAU COUNTY

430 DEMOTT AVENUE, ROCKVILLE CENTRE, LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK 11570 . RO 6-4300

GEORGE B. LIEBERMAN, D. D., LITT. D., RABBI  
GORDON L. GELLER, M.H.L., ASSISTANT RABBI

SUMNER N. GREENBERG  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

NATHANIEL LEVINE  
SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

July 5, 1968

ACTION  
is assigned to



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ROBERT CUTLER  
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PRESIDENT OF SISTERHOOD

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PRESIDENT OF MEN'S CLUB

Secretary of State Dean Rusk  
State Department  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I have recently communicated with the President of the United States to express my shock and dismay upon reading the New York Times report of June 30th regarding the imminent death by starvation of Biafran (Nigerian) civilians, a tragedy of nearly genocidal dimensions.

The understandable restiveness of American underprivileged at home, and our mutual bereavement in Viet Nam abroad, must not deter this land of the free from her sacred role as supporter of those down-trodden victims of oppression and war outside our abundant borders.

I would join, therefore, with all fair-minded citizenry in this country, and particularly the Afro-American electorate, to urgently seek and expect prompt, concrete steps by the United States government, unilaterally or under U.N. auspices, which will avert another epic blot on the conscience of mankind. Respectfully requesting a reply at your earliest convenience, I am

Faithfully yours,

*Gordon L. Geller*  
Rabbi Gordon L. Geller

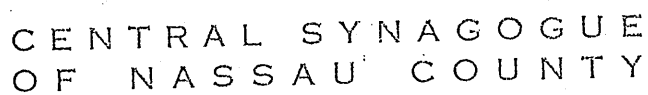
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SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

July 5, 1968

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1ST VICE PRESIDENT

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Faithfully yours,

Rabbi Gordon L. Geller

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SUBJECT: OJUKWU STATEMENT

REF: LAGOS 10982

1. REBEL LEADER OJUKWU HELD NEWS CONFERENCE ON HIS RETURN  
TO BIAFRA ACCORDING TO EASTERN RADIO BROADCAST 1800 GMT JULY 22  
(FBIS ITEM N230710).

2. ACCORDING REBEL RADIO, OJUKWU FORECAST AN EARLY RESUMPTION  
OF PEACE TALKS. OJUKWU PROPOSED A GENERAL TRUCE WITH A

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 11080 231822Z

LIMITED PERIOD OR A TRUCE WITH A LIMITED EXTENT FOR LAGOS TO CHOOSE SO AS TO GET TALKS STARTED. IN REPLY TO QUESTION OUKWU SAID, "PROVIDED SPIRIT OF SINCERITY AND HONESTY WHICH SO VERY EVIDENT IN NIAMEY CONTINUES, PROVIDED AFRICA LEFT ON ITS OWN TO GRAPPLE WITH PROBLEMS POSED BY OUR DIFFICULTIES, I THINK THERE IS HOPE."

3. TO ANOTHER QUESTION OUKWU SAID, "HE WAS NOT PUTTING THE CEASE-FIRE QUESTION AS A PRECONDITION," ADDING THERE NO RPT NO PRIORITIES IN PROJECTED ADDIS TALKS. CEASE-FIRE QUESTION COULD BE RESOLVED AT PRELIMINARY TALKS BEFORE FULL-SCALE TALKS. OUKWU SAID HE MADE IT CLEAR IN HIS ADDRESS TO OAU COMMITTEE THAT A CEASE-FIRE IS NECESSARY TO ENABLE BIAFRAN DELEGATES TO TAKE PART IN FULL-SCALE TALKS IN ADDIS. WHILE NO DEADLINE FIXED FOR PRELIMINARY TALKS, OUKWU EXPRESSED HOPE THEY NOT LAST MORE THAN A WEEK.

4. OUKWU SAID INSISTENCE ON GENERAL CEASE-FIRE WAS TO ENABLE RELIEF GET TO SUFFERING REFUGEES. PROBLEM OF RELIEF COULD NOT BE EFFECTIVELY SOLVED WITHOUT A CEASE-FIRE.

5. CONCERNING RECOGNITION THROUGH INVITATION TO NIAMEY, OUKWU SAID, ACCORDING TEXT OF BROADCAST, "LET'S PUT IT THIS WAY: MY PRESENCE AT NIAMEY FOR ONCE REPRESENTS OAU ACCEPTANCE THAT THERE ARE TWO SIDES TO THE CONFLICT".

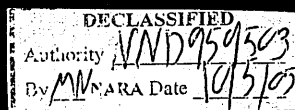
6. OUKWU SAID IT AGREED "WITHOUT SPELLING IT OUT," THAT ADDIS TALKS WOULD BE A "CONFERENCE OF PRINCIPALS," MEANING, IN EFFECT, GOWON AND OUKWU WOULD MEET. ON QUESTION WHETHER HE WOULD GO ADDIS IF NO CEASE-FIRE, OUKWU REPORTEDLY REPLIED "THAT WOULD BE JUMPING AHEAD A BIT. LET'S SEE HOW IT GOES."

7. OUKWU SAID THERE WILL BE "IMMEDIATE INTENSIFICATION" OF AIRLIFTING SUPPLIES FOR BIAFRAN REFUGEES, INCLUDING DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. ASKED WHETHER LAGOS AGREED TO THIS, OUKWU SAID LAGOS HAS BEEN "BOASTING TOO MUCH" ABOUT ITS CAPABILITY AND CLAIMED FMG DID NOT HAVE "THE WHEREWITHAL TO INTERCEPT" HIS PLANES.

8. COMMENT: WE FIND OUKWU'S MAIN THEME THAT PEACE TALKS WILL RESUME A HOPEFUL ONE. WE ALSO DETECT SOME "GIVEN" IN FACT HE NOT MAKING CEASE-FIRE A PRECONDITION TO PRELIMINARY

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 11080 231822Z

TALKS IN NIAMEY. THIS LESS RIGID THAN BIAFRAN POSITION  
IN KAMPALA. CONNECTING CEASE-FIRE TO PLIGHT OF REFUGEES  
MAKES SENSE TACTICALLY FOR OJUKWU, AND HE OMITTED ANY  
REFERENCE FMG POISONING OR REFUSAL ACCEPT BRITISH AID.  
TO THE EXTENT THAT THE ABSENCE OF HERETOFORE STANDARD  
NEGATIVE ITEMS JUSTIFIES OPTIMISM, WE ARE MILDLY  
ENCOURAGED BY MORE REALISTIC LINE OJUKWU TOOK.  
DECON ON RECEIPT.  
MATHEWS.

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02164 231055Z

11

ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, IO 13, RSR 01, SR 01, ORM 03,

/143 W

R 230900Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2034  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOMROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NIAMEY 2164

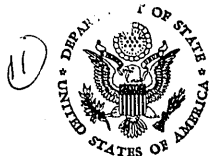
1. BBC BROADCAST MORNING JULY 22, GAVE SAME IMPRESSION AS PREVIOUS AFP ITEM (NIAMEY 2143) THAT DIALLO TELLI IS PRINCIPAL NON-NIGERIAN IN NIAMEY PREPARATORY TALKS AND THAT PRESIDENT DIORI MERELY SITTING ON SIDELINES.
2. DIORI TOLD ME HE REPRESENTED AT TALKS BY SECSTATE SIDIKOU OR BY HIS ASSISTANT CHIEF DE CABINET MAITOURARE GADJO WITH DIALLO TELLI PERFORMING SECRETARIAT FUNCTIONS. ROBERT BRUCE, PUBLICATIONS OFFICER STATIONED NIAMEY FOR OAU SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL & RESEARCH COMMISSION, ACTING AS PART-TIME INTERPRETER.
3. DIORI VIEWS HIS ROLE IN TALKS AS GETTING TWO SIDES TOGETHER AND LETTING THEM TALK OUR PROBLEMS HOLDING HIMSELF AVAILABLE IF PROBLEMS DEVELOP. TOLD PRESS IN CONFERENCE OF JULY 20 THAT "I AM LIKE AN AIRPLANE PILOT -- YOU SAW ME AT THE TAKE OFF, YOU WILL SEE ME AGAIN AT THE LANDING, FOR THE REST THERE IS THE AUTOMATIC PILOT".

RYAN

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02167 231707Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, SA 01, AID 28, PC 04, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSR 01, SAH 02, /154 W

P R 231330Z JUL 68

FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2036

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NIAMEY 2167

SUBJ: PRELIMINARY BIAFRAN/NIGERIA TALKS

LONDON PASS FOREIGN OFFICE, OTHER PASS BRITISH MISSIONS.

APPEARS THAT PRESS CORPS MAY HAVE LEFT NIAMEY BEFORE FULL STORY OAU MEETING FINISHED (REMAINING FOREIGN PRESS CORPS CONSISTS OF ONE REUTERS REPORTER, TWO BBC TELEVISION MEN, AND ONE AMERICAN STRINGER). NOW SEEMS GOOD POSSIBILITY THAT WHOLE RELIEF SUPPLY QUESTION MAY PERHAPS BE SETTLED NIAMEY BEFORE ADDIS MEETING. DURING WEEKEND WHEN CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE BROKE UP, THERE WAS NO INDICATION THAT PRELIMINARY TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO DELEGATIONS WOULD ENCOMPASS MORE THAN FIXING AGENDA AND OTHER TECHNICAL DETAILS FOR ADDIS MEETING. SUNDAY NIGHT COMMUNIQUE WAS FIRST INDICATION THAT TALKS WERE FOCUSING ON QUESTION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES. NOT KNOWN WHETHER THIS DEVELOPED BY CHANCE WHEN IT BECAME APPARENT THAT BOTH SIDES READY TO TALK OR TETHER THIS IN MIND ALL ALONG. FACT THAT NIGERIANS

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NIAMEY 2167  
7-23-68

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02167 231707Z

SENT STRENGTHENED DELEGATION YESTERDAY LENDS WEIGHT THAT  
PRELIMINARY TALKS HAVE DEVELOPED INTO SOMETHING MORE  
IMPORTANT THAN EXPECTED.

SOME DELEGATION MEMBERS APPEARED IN SPORTS SHIFTS  
FOR FIRST TIME TODAY INDICATING MORE RELAXED NATURE MEETINGS  
NOW TAKING. DIORI AND OAU SECRETARIAT SEEM BE PROVIDING  
EXCELLENT ATMOSPHERE FOR CONDUCT OF TALKS.

A NIGERIAN DELEGATION MEMBERS HAS MENTIONED THAT  
THEIR PLANE WILL COME BACK TO NIAMEY TOMORROW. EFFORT MAY  
BE MADE GET WRITTEN PROPOSALS READY TO TAKE BACK LAGOS FOR  
CONSULTATION THAT TIME.  
RYAN

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 734

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02170 232119Z

89

ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, OC 06,

CCO 00, 119 W

P R 231815Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2038  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 2170

LONDON PASS FONOFF, OTHER PASS BRITISH MISSIONS

REF: NIAMEY 2167 - POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

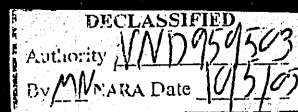
SUBJ: CURRENT STATUS OAU TALKS ON NIGERIA

1. SPECIAL COMMUNIQUE TO WHICH BOTH OJUKWU AND GOWON APPARENTLY AGREED INDICATES BOTH SIDE WOULD GO TO ADDIS ABABA FOR RENEWAL TALKS. SUBSEQUENT OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIQUE JULY 21 MENTIONED ADOPTION AGENDA (NIAMEY 2131), PRESUMABLY FOR ADDIS TALKS.

2. CURRENT PRESS SPECULATION TALKS MAY CONTINUE AT NIAMEY RATHER THAN ADJOURNING TO ADDIS, MAY REFLECT DIORI'S REMARKS TO MCMULLEN (NIAMEY 2155). FURTHER, BBC REP HEARD THAT BIAFRANS NOW INSISTING THAT "AGENDA" REFERRED TO NIAMEY TALKS AND NOT RPT NOT TO ADDIS TALKS.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02170 232119Z

3. DORI'S REQUEST TO FRENCH, US AND USG FOR USE THEIR TELEGRAPHIC AND TELEPHONIC FACILITIES TO SPEED UP REGIONAL COMMUNICATIONS WITH PRINCIPALS AND INTERESTED OAU PARTIES (NIAMEY'S 2131 AND 2145 NOTAL) WOULD APPEAR LEND CREDENCE TO VIEW THAT NIAMEY MAY BE SIDE FOR SOME TYPE OF CONTINUING TALKS.
  4. BOTH BIAFRANS AND FMG SEEM HAPPY WITH NIAMEY, WHICH EASILY ACCESSIBLE BOTH SIDES, AND FEELING MAY BE THAT IF THINGS GOING WELL HERE WHY DEOPARDIZE DISCUSSIONS BY MOVING ELSEWHERE.
  5. ALSO TO BE CONSIDERED IS THAT ADDIS VERSUS NIAMEY LOCALE MAY REFLECT DIALLO TELLI/DORI RIVALRY FOR PRIMACY IN TALKS OR ENHANCEMENT PERSONAL PRESTIGES OR ASCENDANCY OF OAU HEADQUARTERS OVER NIGER.
  6. HOWEVER, OUR VIEW IS THAT APPARENT SINCERE DESIRE ON PARTY BOTH DELEGATIONS AND DORI TO RESOLVE NIGERIAN CONFLICT TAKING PRECEDENCE OVER OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.
  7. WHAT MAY BE HAPPENING IS THAT TALKS PERHAPS EVOLVING ON DIFFERENT PLANES AND ISSUES ON STEP-BY-STEP BASIS, THEREFORE RESULTING IN APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, BIAFRAN INSISTENCE THAT "AGENDA" REFERRED TO NIAMEY AND NOT RPT NOT ADDIS, MAY MEAN THAT QUESTION OF RELIEF AND MERCY CORRIDOR WILL CONTINUE BE DISCUSSED NIAMEY. OJUKWU'S AGREEMENT GO TO ADDIS MAY REFER TO EVENTUAL POSSIBLE PEACE TALKS AS OPPOSED TO MERCY RELIEF TALKS, PROVIDED LATTER ISSUE FIRST SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVED INDICATING GOODWILL BOTH SIDES. FMG'S DESPATCH OF STRONGER WORKING GROUP TO NIAMEY MAY REFLECT INCREASING OPTIMISM SOMETHING CONCRETE MAY EVOLVE. IMPORTANT THING IS BOTH SIDES STILL MEETING. EVEN THOUGH CONFUSION ON SPECIFICS LIKELY, NIAMEY TALKS ARE BRINGING BOTH SIDES INTO INCREASED CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER, AND CURRENT DISCUSSIONS MAY SETTLE DOWN INTO PROLONGED AFFAIRSM.
- RYAN

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

(11)

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL  
Classification

LS POL

27 BIAFRA-  
205390  
NIGERIA

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22 JUL 68 20 04Z

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Origin

ACTION: Anembassy NIAMEY PRIORITY

Info:

REF: Niamey 2145

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SUBJECT: OAU Nigeria

Emb authorized transmit messages as requested.

GP-3

END

206390

RUSK

RECORDED BY 10-12

(1)

Drafted by:

AFCW:EJNadelman/iw 7/22/68

Tel. Ext.

6061

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: AFCW - William E. Schaefe, Jr.

Clearances:

AFW - Mr. Smith (subst.)

ARE AF/EX - Mr. Dobyne

OC/OP - Mr. Branch (subst.)

CONFIDENTIAL  
Classification

FORM DS-322  
8-65

0051

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Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR CR 7-6  
206305

**OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State**

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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22 JUL 68 16 57z

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Origin	ACTION: Amembassy	NIAMEY	<u>PRIORITY</u>
	"	LAGOS	<u>PRIORITY</u>
Info:	"	LONDON	
	"	PARIS	
	"	ACCRA	
	"	ABIDJAN	
	"	KINSHASA	
	"	MONROVIA	
	"	ADDIS ABABA	
	"	YAOUNDE	

REF: Niamey 2131; CA-11287, May 17, 1966

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

POL 3 OAU

CR 7-6 NIAMEY

CR 7-6

Embassy authorized transmit urgent messages Lagos for Diori as requested.

Ref CA gives Ambassador authority.

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RUSK

11

Drafted by:	AFCW:EJNadelman:lw 7/22/68	Tel. Ext.	6061	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:	AFCW - William E. Schaufele, Jr.
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Clearances:

AFW - Mr. Smith (sub) OC/OP - Mr. Branch  
AF/EX - Mr. Dobyns

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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Authority VMD 954503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

(11)



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 528

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02144 221134Z

53  
ACTION: AF 15

INFO: CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INRI 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, PI 04,

RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SA 01, SAH 02, SAL 01, EUR 15, IO 13,

AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, PC 04, RSR 01, / 155 W

OP: 220946Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2027  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

CONFIDENTIAL NIAMEY 2144

LONDON PLEASE PASS COM OTHER PAFS APPROPRIATE BRITISH MISSIONS  
TEBBIT FROM MCMULLEN

REF: US EMBASSY NIAMEY 2141 TO LONDON (NOTAL)

1. WAS ABLE TO BUTTONHOLE DIORI AFTER SEEING OFF TUBMAN. EXPLAINED PRE-OCCUPATION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WITH RELIEF PROBLEM AND SAID SECRETARY OF STATE WOULD BE EXTREMELY GRATEFUL TO BE INFORMED IMMEDIATELY IF DIORI FELT AT ANY TIME DURING MONDAY HE COULD SAY SOMETHING FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION, PREFERABLY OF COURSE OPTIMISTIC ON THE PROGRESS OF DISCUSSIONS ON RELIEF.
2. DIORI REPLIED THAT FEDERAL DELEGATION HAD GONE BACK TO LAGOS FOR CONSULTATION AND TODAY'S MEETING WOULD NOT BEGIN UNTIL 1600 HOURS. BOTH SIDES, HOWEVER, HAD AGREED IN PRINCIPLE ON RELIEF OPERATIONS AND ONLY MODALITIES REMAINED FOR DISCUSSION. WHEN CHALLENGED ON BASIS AFPI REPORT THAT OOUKWU HAD NOT RPT NOT APPROVED

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7-22-68  
Niamey 2144

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PAGE 02: NIAMEY 02144 221134Z

COMMITTEE RESOLUTION (AS OPPOSED TO SPECIAL COMMUNIQUE) WHICH US AMBASSADOR CONFIRMED SEPARATELY WITH DIORI AT AIRPORT WAS THE CASE. DIORI RETRACTED ORIGINAL STATEMENT AND SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT DIALLO TELLI. TELLI LATER EXPLAINED THAT DISCUSSIONS HAD ONLY TOUCHED BRIEFLY ON RELIEF QUESTION AND MATTER WAS AT VERY DELICATE STAGE. HE APPRECIATED OUR PROBLEM, HOWEVER, AND IF ANYTHING COULD BE SAID AFTER TALKS UNDER WAY, HE WOULD GET DIORI TO TELL ME AT ONCE. TELLI SURPRISINGLY AND PERHAPS BECAUSE HE BADLY WANTS OUR HELP ON COMMUNICATIONS (US EMBASSY NIAMEY TELEGRAM 2142 TO LONDON) EXTREMELY AFFABLE AND WHEN CONGA GRATULATED ON HAVING DONE SO WELL SO FAR, PAID (QUERY?) RECORD TRIBUTE TO HMG'S EARLIER EFFORTS BY ADMITTING GRACEFULLY THAT OAU HAD BEEN ABLE TO PROFIT FROM SPADE WORK PUT IN EARLIER BY BRITISH IN LONDON AND KAMPALA.

3. DEBATE COULD NOT BE MORE UNFORTUNATELY TIMED IN LIGHT OF BREAK IN TALKS. PROBABLY TOO MUCH TO HOPE NOTHING WILL BE SAID WHICH COULD UPSET EITHER PARTY TO DISCUSSIONS AT VERY DELICATE STAGE. DELEGATES STILL REMAIN STIFFLY SEGREGATED OUTSIDE CONFERENCE ROOM AND DIORI REVEALED CONFIDENTIALLY TALKS CAME WITHIN HAIR BREATH OF BREAKING UP ON FRIDAY. WOULD SUGGEST THAT IN OPENING DEBATE IT MIGHT BE STRESSED THAT IN ORDER TO AVOID ANYTHING WHICH MIGHT DISTURB SO FAR SATISFACTORY PROGRESS OF DISCUSSIONS NOW AT CRITICAL STAGE, MEMBERS SHOULD WEIGH THEIR WORDS WITH EXTREME CARE. WARM EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION OF PATIENT EFFORTS OF OAU COMMITTEE AND DIORI HIMSELF IN ACHIEVING PROGRESS SO FAR WOULD CERTAINLY GO DOWN WELL HERE.

4. TOM MANGOLD'S RADIO AND TELEVISION SCRIPTS SHOULD HAVE HAD USEFUL EFFECT ON PUBLIC OPINION. HE HAS TAKEN MOST RESPONSIBLE ATTITUDE ASKING FOR FULLEST BRIEFING AND SHOWING DRAFTS BEFORE DESPATCH.

GP-3: RYAN

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MM
DATE	10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02153 221900Z

46  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10,  
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SA 01, IO 13, RSR 07, PC 04,  
/144 W

R 221630Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2030  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN:  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

CONFIDENTIAL NIAMEY 2153

REF: NIAMEY 2131 - POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
POL 3 OAU

SUBJ: PRESS TREATMENT OAU NIGERIA TALKS CR 7-6 NIAMEY

1) CONTRARY PRESIDENT DIORI'S ALLEGATION REFTEL, FROM WHAT WE HAVE SEEN I BELIEVE US PRESS HAS BEEN MOST RESPONSIBLE IN TREATMENT NIAMEY TALKS. FURTHER US PRESS REPS, PARTICULARLY FRIENDLY NYT, AN KELLY VOA, COOPERATED FULLY WITH US AND KEPT US INFORMED AT TIME WE UNABLE OBTAIN INFO EMB CONTACTS.

2) DIORI'S IMPRESSION DUE HIS UNFAMILIARITY WORKINGS FREE PRESS AND FEAR OF LEAKS DISRUPTING DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS.  
GP-4 RYAN.

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Authority VND 950/503  
By MN/ARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02145 221239Z

45  
ACTION: AF 15

INFO: SS: 20, OC: 06, CCO: 00, L: 03, RSR: 01, RSC: 01, /046, W

P: 221040Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2028

C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 2145  
REF: NIAMEY 2131 - POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
SUBJ: OAU NIGERIA  
POL 3 OAU  
CR 7-6 NIAMEY

1. AT TUBMAN DEPARTURE AIRPORT JULY 21 DIALLO TELLI ASKED ME, STATING HE DOING SO AT PRESIDENT DIORI'S REQUEST, WHETHER USG COMMUNICATION FACILITIES ALSO COULD BE USED TO PASS MESSAGES BETWEEN NIAMEY AND ADDIS ABABA TO KEEP EMPEROR INFORMED OF OAU COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES.

2. PLEASE ADVISE.

GP-3 RYAN

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

NIAMEY 2145  
7-22-68



POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02155 231043Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00,  
GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, SAH 02,

SA 01, AID 28, PC 04, RSR 01, CCO 00, /132 W  
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O 221615Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
SECSTATE WASHDC 2031

C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 2155

LONDON PASS CO OTHERS PASS APPROPRIATE BRITISH MISSIONS.

TEBBIT FROM MCMULLEN.

IN VIEW OF AFP STORY SUGGESTING SUBSTANTIVE TALKS  
LIKELY TO END HERE TONIGHT DECIDED TO CHECK AT PRESIDENCE WITH  
DIRECTEUR DE CABINET BUT WAS INVITED BY DIORI, WHO CAME BY,  
INTO HIS STUDY. HE MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:  
A. HE WISHED ME TRANSMIT PERSONAL PLEA TO FOREIGN  
SECRETARY TO ASK MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT IN DEBATE TO WEIGH  
THEIR WORDS CAREFULLY AS NEGOTIATIONS STATE OF HIGHEST  
DELICACY ON WHICH WILL-CONSIDERED OBSERVATIONS COULD HAVE  
VERYADVERSE EFFECT.

B. IT WAS HIS INTENTION AT LEAST THAT SUBSTANTIVE TALKS SHOULD  
CONTINUE IN NIAMEY WHICH IS BY FAR MOST CONVENIENT PLACE FOR  
BOTH PARTIES FROM STANDPOINT OF LOCATION, LAGOS BEING ONLY ONE  
HOUR FROM NIAMEY AND LIBREVILLE TWO AND ONE-HALF, AND COMMUNICATIONS  
FACILITIES FROM NIAMEY EVEN THOUGH NOT IDEAL BEING FAR SUPERIOR  
TO THOSE FROM ADDIS ABABA. BIAFRANS PARTICULARLY KEEN TO HAVE  
AS MUCH OF DISCUSSIONS AS POSSIBLE IN NIAMEY. DIORI ENVISAGES  
ADDIS PROCEEDINGS AS CONSTITUTING FINAL STEP WITH FORMAL  
RATIFICATION BY LEADERS.

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*7-22-68  
Niamey 2155*

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Authority VND 959503  
By MNA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02155 231043Z

C. HE HAD TOLD BIAFRAN DELEGATION, IN PARTICULAR TANZANIAN ADVISOR, THAT HE THOUGHT IT ESSENTIAL IF PROGRESS IS TO BE MADE ON ANY MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE THAT SOME GESTURE, HOWEVER SMALL, ON SECESSION MUST BE MADE BY OJUKWU. HE WAS QUITE SURE THAT GOWON WOULD RESPOND EAGERLY TO SUCH MOVE. DELEGATION HAD REPLIED THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT THEIR AUTHORITIES.

C. DIORI SHOWED ME BIAFRAN PROPOSALS FOR RELIEF ROUTES WHICH IN SUBSTANCE WERE THE SAME AS THOSE RELEASED BY BIAFRANS ELSEWHERE. I REMARKED THAT THESE STILL SEEMED A LONG WAY FROM THE FEDERAL POSITION. HE AGREED RATHER WISTFULLY STRESSING AGAIN NEED FOR SOME SLIGHT MOVEMENT ON BASIC POLITICAL ISSUE IN ORDER TO GET AGREEMENT ON RELIEF MODALITIES MOVING.

HE ASKED ME TO REMAIN IN NIAMEY. UNLESS INSTRUCTED OTHERWISE, PROPOSE TO DO SO, IN SPITE OF RATHER DISTURBING AFP INFORMATION ABOUT LABOR AND STUDENT SITUATION IN ABIDJAN. DIORI WAS IN RATHER LESS EUPHORIC MOOD THAN YESTERDAY.

GP-3 RYAN

CONFIDENTIAL

0058

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND954503  
By MVA NARA Date 10/5/05

(11)



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

(18)

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02158 231014Z

11

ACTION AF 15:

INFO: EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01,

/141 W

P R 221930Z JULI 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2032  
INFO: AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN:  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

UNCLAS NIAMEY 2158

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING: JULY 22 PRESS ROUND-UP  
LONDON PASS FOREIGN OFFICE OTHERS PASS BRITISH MISSIONS

1. IN APPRAISING RESULTS CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, TEMPS DU NIGER IN EDITORIAL THIS MORNING ECHOES DIORI'S STATEMENT TO PRESS ON SATURDAY THAT MEETING A SUCCESS FOR OAU. EDITORIAL DESCRIBES MEETING AS QTE DECISIVE TURNING POINT AFTER RUPTURE OF NEGOTIATIONS AT KAMPALA. UNQUOTE AND SUCCESSFUL EFFORT AFRICANS SOLVE AFRICAN PROBLEM. ALSO POINTS WITH PRIDE TO COMMITTEE'S CALL TO DIORI TO CHAIRMAN PRELIMINARY TALKS LEADING TO PEACE TALKS WHICH EDITORIAL SAYS MAY BEGIN ADDIS NEXT WEEK.

2. FOR THRID SESSION OF TALKS BETWEEN BIAFRAN AND NIGERIAN DELEGATIONS AT PALACE AFTERNOON JULY 22, AFP LAGOS ARTICLE REPORTS THAT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DELEGATION BEING STRENGTHENED. AYIDA SUPPOSED TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY REHABILITATION COMMISSIONER TIMOTHY OMO-BARE, COMMISSIONER OF LABOR FEMI OKUNNU, AND MILITARY

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By MWA NARA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02158 231014Z

SECRETARY COL. I.D. BISALLA. ACCORDING ARTICLE, INFORMED SOURCES LAGOS SAYING THAT IF SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT REACHED NIAMEY, ADDIS CONFERENCE MAY NOT RPT NOT BE NECESSARY.

3. EARLIER ARTICLE AFP NIAMEY SAYS THAT WITH AGENDA DECIDED UPON PRELIMINARY TALKS NOW CENTERING ON CONCRETE PROPOSITIONS FOR GETTING RELIEF SUPPLIES TO WAR VICTIMS. GOES ON TO SUGGEST THAT TWO PARTIES NOT RPT NOT TRYING TO SYNTHESIZE DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSITE VIEWPOINTS ON RELIEF SUPPLIES, A REP-PROCHEMENT THAT WILL HAVE TAKE PLACE WHEN TWO LEADERS MEET ADDIS, BUT SIMPLY ATTEMPTING PUT THEIR ADVERSE POSITION IN BLACK AND WHITE.

4. AFP LIBREVILLE ITEM JUST RECEIVED GIVES TEXT OF DECLARATION BY OUUKWU REPORTEDLY MADE TO GABONESE OFFICIALS DURING HIS SHORT PASSAGE THROUGH LIBREVILLE NIGHT OF 20TH. DECLARATION EMPHASIZES THAT NO RPT NO BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES TO OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING KNEW OF COMMITTEE RESOLUTION BEFORE ITS PUBLICATIONS AND THAT ANY ASSERTION THAT IT ACCEPTED BY BIAFRA TOTALLY WITHOUT FOUNDATION. SAYS ONLY COMMITTEE COMMUNIQUE TO WHICH BIAFRANS ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES IS ONE ISSUED JULY 19 (NOTE: OUUKWU PRESUMABLY REFERRING TO SPECIAL TWO-POINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY COMMITTEE SINCE BOTH RESOLUTION AND SPECIAL COMMUNIQUE GIVEN TO PRESS JULY 19.

RYAN

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA
Date	10/5/05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
ACTION SLIP  
WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL

CONTROL NO.

10342

TO AF - Mr. Heubeck

DATE 7/22/68

SUBJECT Tel to LBJ fm Nwone Otue, Special Repre. of Republic of Biafra  
dtd 7/19 re Biafra/Nigeria war.

Prepare a Read to \_\_\_\_\_  
memo enclosing or containing:  
\_\_\_\_\_ Draft reply for President's  
signature.  
\_\_\_\_\_ Draft reply for signature by  
\_\_\_\_\_.  
\_\_\_\_\_ Memo for use as enclosure to reply  
by White House.  
\_\_\_\_\_ Comment or recommendation.

Direct reply:

\_\_\_\_\_ Furnish information copy under  
cover of a Read to \_\_\_\_\_  
memo.

\_\_\_\_\_ Comeback copy required for S/S.

XXX Suitable acknowledgment or other  
appropriate handling:

\_\_\_\_\_ Furnish information copy of  
reply, if any, under cover of  
a Read to \_\_\_\_\_ memo.

\_\_\_\_\_ Refer to White House request of  
\_\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_ FYI

\_\_\_\_\_ Due in S/S by 7/25.

NOTES

1. White House referrals must be answered within 48 hours unless otherwise noted. If deadline cannot be met, inform S/S immediately at extension given below.
2. Direct replies to White House mail must be signed at the Assistant or Acting Assistant Secretary level.
3. Unless otherwise noted, direct replies, depending upon the address of the incoming letter, must begin: "The President has asked me to reply" or "Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ has asked me to reply".
4. Basic correspondence should be returned when draft reply, memorandum or comment or comeback copy for the White House is requested.

REMARKS

Per Smith/Kelly telcon

No Reply Necessary  
RPSmith/Kelly 7/23/68

COPIES TO:

P - Mr. Coates (w/att)

GLKelly - 4735

Secretariat Staff  
Ext.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority VIND 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/09



NEW YORK NY 19 205P EDT

THE PRESIDENT, 466

THE WHITE HOUSE

10342

YOUR EXCELLENCY

THE COMMITTEE OF OAU IS NOW MEETING ON BIAFRA//NIGERIA  
WAR ONCE AGAIN THE WORLD HAS TAKEN THE POSITION OF WAIT AND  
SEE I WISH TO REQUEST A POSITIVE POSITION FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT  
BY LENDING YOUR WEIGHT AND THE PRESTIGE OF YOUR NATION TO THE  
PRESENT EFFORTS OF THE OAU TO ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATED

SETTLEMENT BIAFRA IS FACED WITH GENOCIDE WHAT STAGE MUST  
BE REACHED IN THE SYSTEMATIC MASSACRE OF A PEOPLE BEFORE IT  
PS ADJUDGED AS AMOUNTING TO GENOCIDE? GENOCIDE IS NOT AN INTERNAL  
AFFAIR OF ANY NATION. IT IS NOT AN AFRICAN PROBLEM IT IS A  
WORLD PROBLEM. IT WAS CONDEMNED BY THE WORLD AFTER SECOND WORLD  
WAR. IT IS CONDEMNED IN UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON HUMAN  
RIGHTS. IT IS CONDEMNED BY BOTH CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS  
GENOCIDE STANDS CONDEMNED BEFORE GOD AND MAN. WHEN IT COMES  
TO GENOCIDE TO BE SILENT MEANS ONE HAS TAKEN SIDES. IT IS  
KNOWN THAT PLANS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED BY NIGERIA AND HER ALLIES

BRITAIN, SOVIET RUSSIA, EGYPT FOR MASSIVE FULL SCALE ATTACK  
ON BIAFRA TO ELIMINATE THE POPULATION FROM THE FACE OF THE  
EARTH AS THEIR FINAL SOLUTION TO THE BIAFRA PROBLEM. ALL THERE  
IN THE NAME OF KEEPING NIGERIA ONE. OVER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY  
AGO THE WORLD WAS SILENT OR FUMBLING AND 6,000,000 PEOPLE DIED.  
THIS TIME OVER 12 MILLION PEOPLE WILL BE INVOLVED. LET US NOT  
LEAVE IT TO THE HISTORIANS TO WRITE ON WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN  
DONE. WE URGE YOU TO ACT AND NOW

NWONE OTUE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA  
IN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA 342 MADISON AVE SUITE

21A NEW YORK CITY

POL 211 BIAFRA NIGERIA

0062

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Authority VND 954503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

THE WHITE HOUSE Situation Room		LDX MSG. Form	TIME SENT
66	WHITE HOUSE NR. NMCC _____ STATE <u>632</u> CIA _____	NUMBER OF PAGES <u>4</u>	2-1 1113
FROM: <u>Bramley Smith</u>		DESCRIPTION AND COMMENT:          DEPARTMENT OF STATE	
TO: <u>BEN READ</u>			
Received By: <u>JWShear</u>		Date/Time: 1968 JUL 21 AM 11 16	

POL 21 BIAFPA - NIGER

0063

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Authority: VND 954503  
By: MM NARA Date: 10/5/05

146 1983 JUL 19 RI 5 07

WA077 DL PDC

NEW YORK NY 19 205P EDT

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

YOUR EXCELLENCY

THE COMMITTEE OF OAU IS NOW MEETING ON BIAFRA//NIGERIA  
WAR ONCE AGAIN THE WORLD HAS TAKEN THE POSITION OF WAIT AND  
SEE I WISH TO REQUEST A POSITIVE POSITION FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT  
BY LENDING YOUR WEIGHT AND THE PRESTIGE OF YOUR NATION TO THE  
PRESENT EFFORTS OF THE OAU TO ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATED

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WAR. IT IS CONDEMNED IN UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON HUMAN  
RIGHTS. IT IS CONDEMNED BY BOTH CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS  
GENOCIDE STANDS CONDEMNED BEFORE GOD AND MAN. WHEN IT COMES  
TO GENOCIDE TO BE SILENT MEANS ONE HAS TAKEN SIDES. IT IS  
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BRITAIN, SOVIET RUSSIA, EGYPT FOR MASSIVE FULL SCALE ATTACK  
ON BIAFRA TO ELIMINATE THE POPULATION FROM THE FACE OF THE  
EARTH AS THEIR FINAL SOLUTION TO THE BIAFRA PROBLEM. ALL THERE  
IN THE NAME OF KEEPING NIGERIA ONE. OVER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY  
GO THE WORLD WAS SILENT OR FUMBLING AND 6,000,000 PEOPLE DIED.  
THIS TIME OVER 12 MILLION PEOPLE WILL BE INVOLVED. LET US NOT  
LEAVE IT TO THE HISTORIANS TO WRITE ON WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN  
DONE. WE URGE YOU TO ACT AND NOW

① NWONE OTUE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA

IN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA 342 MADISON AVE SUITE

21A NEW YORK CITY

FILE 27 BIAFRA- NIGERIA

Signed, NWONE OTUE

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

DS



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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CONFIDENTIAL: 023

PAGE 01 LONDON 11052 221917Z

50

ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, /098 W

O R 221904Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY IMMEDIATE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 49611

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 11052  
REF: NIAMEY 2154

RETEL RECEIVED SHORTLY AFTER DEBATE WHICH WAS RELATIVELY  
MILD AND CONCLUDED WITHOUT OPPOSITION CALLING FOR VOTE.  
WE HAVE PASSED MESSAGE TO TEBBIT AND WILL DO SAME WITH  
REPORT OF FULL CONVERSATION WHEN RECEIVED.  
BRUCE

*London 11052  
7-22-68*

①

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CONFIDENTIAL

0065

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MMNARA Date 10/5/05



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Department of State

POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria  
TELEGRAM

XR POL 27 Biafra-Nigeria

CONFIDENTIAL 420

PAGE 01 ROME 07250 220944Z

12  
ACTION IO 15

INFO EUR 15, NEA 13, EA 10, AF 09, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPMI 04, HI 02, INR 07,

L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, UGIA 12, ACDA 16,

RSR 01, 144 W

P 220750Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ROME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC/PRIORITY 7630  
INFO USMISSION USUN

CONFIDENTIAL ROME 7250

SUBJECT: UNGA PROSPECTS

1. DURING BALL/SISCO MEETING WITH MFA OFFICIALS ON MIDDLE EAST SITUATION (SEPTEL), PROSPECTS FOR FORTHCOMING UNGA WERE DISCUSSED. BOTH SIDES FORESAW NO SURPRISES AND AN UN-EXCITING SESSION AHEAD.

2. SISCO EXPECTED GOOD DEAL OF ATTENTION TO AFRICAN ISSUES. FOURTH COMMITTEE LIKELY TO PRODUCE EXHORTATION ON RHODESIA BUT NEWLY STRENGTHENED SC SANCTIONS WOULD MAKE OTHER ACTIONS UNLIKELY. ALTHOUGH UK HOPEFUL FOR SANCTION RESULTS, USG CANDIDLY HAS SOME DOUBTS. SWAFRICA PROBLEM WOULD PRODUCE MORE AND MORE EXTREME RESES BUT NO RESULTS. CHIREP WOULD PROBABLY COME UP BEFORE CHRISTMAS AND WOULD FOLLOW PRIOR PATTERN WITH SAME RESULTS. DISARMAMENT DISCUSSION LIKELY TO BE ALONG TRADITIONAL LINES, DEPENDING ON RESULTS IN GENEVA AND EFFECT OF KOSYGINI MEMO. NON-USE, TESTING, AND TRADITIONAL THEMES WOULD BE DOMINANT.

3. RE ITALIAN SC CANDIDACY, MFA DIR GEN POL AFFAIRS GAJA SAID NEW ITALIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD SHORTLY TAKE DECISION WHETHER TO PRESS AHEAD. GOI IS INTERESTED IN SC SEAT DURING FIRST TWO YEARS OF PRESENT NEWLY ELECTED PARLIAMENT RATHER THAN LATER. GOI HOPES FOR US SUPPORT. SPANISH CANDIDACY HAS ITS OPONENTS, WHILE FINNS FEAR LOSING OUT TO SPAIN AND ITALY. THE SITUATION IS FLUID.

4. ITALIANS CONCURRED IN SISCO FORECAST ON OTHER AGENDA ITEMS. GOI IS INTERESTED IN PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY AND ASKED US

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Authority VND 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

ORIGIN/			DEPARTMENT OF STATE		POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA	
AF-5			<b>AIRGRAM</b>		XR-UN 8-3	
Original to be Filed in			Decentralized Files.		FILE DESIGNATION	
RM/R	REP	AF	CA-9567		UNCLASSIFIED	
ARA	EUR	EFA	NO.		HANDLING INDICATOR	
NEA	CU	INR				
E	P	IO	TO : Embassies LAGOS			
L	FBO	AID	INFO : ABIDJAN, ACCRA, ADDIS ABABA, DAR ES SALAAM, KINSHASA, LIBREVILLE, LUSAKA, MONROVIA, NIAMEY, YAOUNDE			
O/C/O/TUSUN						
AGR	COM	FRB	FROM : Department of State		DATE: JUL 22 2 56 PM '68	
INT	LAB	TAR	SUBJECT: U Thant on Nigeria			
TR	XMB	AIR	REF :			
ARMY	CIA	NAVY	<p>Enclosed is the text of excerpts concerning Nigeria from the Secretary General's July 10 press conference. U Thant makes clear his belief that the OAU is still seized of the issue of the Nigerian conflict and that the UN has to regard the situation as "purely within Chapter 2, Article 7 of the Charter." The only way the UN could be involved is if one of its members should bring the issue before the General Assembly or the Security Council. The Secretary-General also states his belief that the ICRC should be the only channel for the transmission of international aid to the people of the former Eastern Region. He expresses confidence that the Federal Military Government wishes to facilitate international assistance to the East. Eastern leaders are urged to take advantage of the Federal offer to facilitate aid to the East and to "cooperate more fully with the international community" in its efforts to assist the Easterners.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">RUSK</p> <p>Enclosure: Excerpts of U Thant Press Conference July 10</p>			
OSD	USIA	NSA				
	10	3				
②						
MICROFILMED BY RS/B						
FORM 4-63 DS-323			UNCLASSIFIED		FOR DEPT. USE ONLY	
Drafted by: AF/AFW:DFS:ncs			Drafting Date: 7/19/68		<input type="checkbox"/> In <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Out	
Clearances:			Contents and Classification Approved by: AFW - Roy M. Melbourne			

0067

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VMD 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

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1.

QUESTION: Could you say what you have been doing about the situation in Nigeria while you have been in Geneva, and whether you have any views on the attitude of the Biafran authorities towards letting relief operations operate there?

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Well, regarding the Nigerian situation, particularly the situation in the eastern region which is known as Biafra, I first had the opportunity of discussing the matter with General Gowon, Head of the Federal Government, in Lagos last September on my way to attend the African summit conference which took place in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo. I had a very useful exchange of views with him; and at the African summit conference, as you will remember, it was decided unanimously by all Heads of African States to constitute a small committee under the distinguished leadership of the Emperor of Ethiopia to go to Nigeria to contact the parties concerned and to bring about a peaceful solution of this tragic problem. The committee did go there. I had been advised at the Kinshasa summit meeting that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) would be seized of this matter and I believe the OAU is still seized of it. Of course, on the basis of later developments, the Commonwealth Secretariat was very deeply involved. Its able Secretary-General, Mr. Arnold Smith, was personally involved and he was able to bring about a meeting of the two parties in Uganda, but, in the meantime, the United Nations was not staying quiet.

I have been in constant touch with General Gowon since September and, in the meantime, the United Nations and its agencies have been involved, although there was not much publicity in the public media. To cite one example, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has been offering very substantial aid to the unfortunate people in the eastern region of Nigeria, through the good offices of the International Red Cross. In my view, the International Red Cross should be the only channel for the transmission of international aid to those stricken people in the eastern region. As far as the UNICEF assistance is concerned, I just want to say that, so far, with the very full co-operation of the International Red Cross, it has been able to send to the stricken people of the eastern region, which is called Biafra, 200 tons of skimmed milk powder, 10 million vitamin capsules and quantities of medical supplies and salt, and a variety of transport equipment. I want to take this opportunity of stating that only yesterday I had a very useful exchange of views with Dr. Gonard, Head of the International Red Cross, and I have assured him of my fullest co-operation in his endeavours in the discharge of his responsibilities by the International Red Cross. They estimate that the requirements of the population in distress amount to at least 200 tons daily of supplementary food supplies. This is a huge quantity, as you will recognize, but there are now no channels of communication to that region. The dispute, according to reports available to me, has been still going on between the Federal Government, on the one hand, and the dissidents, on the other.

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By	MMNARA Date 10/5/03

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2.

In my view, the Federal Government is desirous of facilitating all international aid and assistance to the people in distress in the eastern region. Only last night, my attention was drawn to a letter from the Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations addressed to UNICEF on 3 July. It says in effect "that the Head of the Government has agreed that relief supplies for the eastern region areas can be airlifted to Enugu, Port Harcourt or any other airports under Federal control, and from thence transported by road to agreed points in the rebel-held territory". He further offered to supply vehicles and escorts and to render every possible assistance and facilities desired by the Red Cross to ensure that the relief supplies reach their destination.

I think this is a very welcome move on the part of the Federal Government. Yesterday, I had very useful discussions with some heads of the specialized agencies which were involved in this humanitarian work. As soon as I get back to New York, I will take it up immediately. Of course, the actions of the United Nations and the family of agencies will be purely humanitarian. I want to make this very clear.

As far as the constitutional aspect of the problem is concerned, the United Nations has to regard this situation as purely within Chapter 2, Article 7 of the Charter; but the Federal Nigerian Government has very kindly agreed to accept and facilitate the transmission of all aid on humanitarian grounds. I will take this opportunity to appeal to the leaders of the eastern region or Biafra to take advantage of this offer and to co-operate more fully with the international community in its genuine endeavour to ameliorate the miserable plight of the peoples in that region.

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QUESTION: I would like to return to the question of Nigeria. I noted that you, personally, and the heads of other organizations of the United Nations family have done much to help these people from the humanitarian point of view. However, I am preoccupied and anxious about another matter. Is it not really so that the United Nations is in a position politically and otherwise in order to intervene in this genocide--I stress this genocide--in a more effective way. I would recall, in this connexion, that there is in existence a Convention on genocide approved by the General Assembly on 9 December 1948. I do not believe that this Convention had ever been applied or implemented--from all information that is available here in Switzerland. I am correspondent of a Swiss newspaper. I would say that public opinion is most occupied by the events in Biafra. According to information that is available, it is a case of genocide. You, Sir, have said that this is an internal matter affecting Nigeria. I would like to recall, in this connexion, that the United Nations did take up the question of South Africa, the question of Rhodesia--in other words, they take up matters that were internal in character. Mr. Secretary-General, may I ask you whether there does exist a legal or political basis as a

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/03



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result of which the United Nations could intervene to put an end to this most unfortunate series of events in Biafra. You have taken up the Congo matter and others as well. I apologize for my length, Mr. Secretary-General.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Well, I think we have to recognize some truths regarding the United Nations. It is a gathering or organization of 124 sovereign independent States. If one Member says that this is genocide, another Member will say that this is not genocide. If one Member says that the Security Council must take action, another Member will say that the Security Council must not take action. These are problems connected with all human organizations. Whatever my distinguished friend may think, there are many others here who do not share his view. Even in this room, I am sure my friend's assessment is not shared totally by the rest. The same applies to international organizations. As far as the functioning of the United Nations is concerned, there are principal deliberative organs, the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Security Council has to deal principally with political matters--matters affecting peace and security. The Security Council has not taken any initiative or any action in this matter. There is no one of us which can force the United Nations to act.

You cited the question of the Congo and this and that. These actions were taken on the basis of the decisions of deliberative organs. In some cases, the decisions were made by the General Assembly, and, in other cases, decisions were made by the Security Council.

In the present case, if a Member State or Member States felt that the United Nations should be involved, of course it is up to any one of the 124 Member States to take the initiative, either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council, to present a case and get a decision. I don't see any other mechanism or any other procedure by which the United Nations can be involved. When you say that many people in the world consider the situation in the eastern region of Nigeria as genocide, I want to recall, without in any way associating myself or identifying myself with these accusations, the volume of correspondence in the past six years from many quarters alleging that a particular situation in a particular country is genocide. Why was the United Nations inactive?

For instance, during the past several years, I received scores of complaints alleging that the Viet-Nam war is genocide. About two years ago, I got many complaints regarding what was alleged to be genocide in Indonesia. According to those allegations, almost 1 million people were killed. Why was the United Nations inactive? Many allegations have been made, but who is to determine whether a particular case is a case of genocide in terms of the resolution? I am not competent to determine this. I am sure my distinguished friend is not competent

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/05

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4.

to determine whether a particular situation is genocide or not genocide. It is only the competent organ of the United Nations which can determine whether a particular situation is a genocide or not a genocide. So my conclusion is that it is not some individuals or some newspapers or some radio stations or some television stations which can pass judgement regarding genocide. I don't think it will be a fair or reliable assessment. A fair and reliable assessment must be made only by the Member States themselves in an appropriate organ of the United Nations.

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MNARA Date 10/3/05

IN/ACTION		
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RM/R	REP	AF
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135  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
**AIRGRAM**

Pol 24 Biafra Nigeria  
XRSoc 10 Biafra  
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1049  
NO. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO : LAGOS; GENEVA

FROM : Amembassy TEL AVIV

DATE: July 20, 1968

SUBJECT: Offer of Israeli Aid to Biafra

REF :

On July 10, a spokesman for the Israeli Foreign Ministry reportedly released a statement announcing that Israel has offered to provide relief aid to the population of East Nigeria (Biafra) through the International Red Cross (IRC). The Ministry statement added that the delivery of such aid is pending a response from the IRC in Geneva as to what type of relief is required. The statement also said that the indescribable sufferings of East Nigeria's population have aroused deep feelings of shock, especially among the people of Israel who for generations have known the most inhuman sufferings.

Over the past several months, there have been a series of articles in the local press describing the civil war in Nigeria. The tone of most articles has been generally sympathetic with the Biafran struggle for independence. Furthermore, there have been several letters to the editor appearing in the Jerusalem Post, inter alia, debating this issue. For example, on April 14, Okey ANYADIKE, Publicity Secretary of the Biafra Union of Israel (a student organization with headquarters at Technion University, Haifa), wrote the Post urging that Israel should recognize Biafra and thereby "gain a true friend among the progressive nations of Africa." Last spring, a group of African and Israeli young people staged a small demonstration in front of the British Embassy in Tel Aviv demanding freedom for Biafra and a halt to British arms supplies to the Federal Government of Nigeria.

Enclosure: "Biafra - Struggle for National Survival" One copy only (for Dept.)

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On June 19, the Post published the pro-Biafran views of Ariel WHINE who wrote on behalf of the National Union of Israeli Students (NUIS). On June 28, the Post printed what amounted to a rebuttal by Alfred O. FAYEMI of the Hadassah Medical School entitled "Nigeria, touch-stone of African Unity."

Most recently, on July 9, the Post counterposed three additional letters responding to the earlier articles. Nnamdi B. EMETAROM, a member of the Biafra Union of Israel, claimed that Fayemi had distorted the true situation in Nigeria and that Fayemi "should realize that the debate today is whether Nigeria's British and Soviet-supplied military machine should be allowed to obliterate Biafra, justly struggling, almost alone, for her right to national independence."

The second letter, from Fayemi, attacked Whine's viewpoint and said that it is incorrect to compare the plight of the Ibos in the Nigerian civil war with the persecution of the Jews in Europe. Fayemi charged that the NUIS, in supporting Biafra, "is following the old colonial policy of 'divide and rule'."

The third writer, J. E. AKPAN, claimed that he represented the "Students of the Rivers and South Eastern States of Nigeria." Akpan deplored the pro-Biafran resolutions of the NUIS, stating that the latter organization apparently has utter disregard for the feelings of the 5.8 million non-Ibos of Eastern Nigeria "who had all along opposed secession and wished to remain Nigerians."

The Biafra Union of Israel has, from time to time, published and distributed locally booklets and leaflets advocating Biafra's cause. Among those who have been identified as contributors to these publications are Emetarom, Anyadike, Godwin NWAFOR, and E. C. ENEH. A sample of one of these publications, entitled "Biafra - Struggle for National Survival" is being forwarded to the Department as an enclosure to this airgram.

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Comment: Israeli public opinion, to the extent it focuses on the Biafra question, tends to be sympathetic to the Biafran side of the Nigerian civil war. This sympathy is based partially on sincere empathy with the sufferings of the Biafrans who are cast here as a persecuted people, and partly on the belief that a moslem Hausa dominated Nigeria would identify with the Arabs in the Israel-Arab conflict.

BARBOUR

*The Biafrans  
are the best people.*

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STRUGGLE FOR

## NATIONAL SURVIVAL

DECEMBER 1967

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B I A F R A

STRUGGLE  
FOR  
NATIONAL SURVIVAL

DECEMBER 1967

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WHEN, IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS,  
IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE  
TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BANDS WHICH  
HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHER,  
AND TO ASSUME AMONG THE POWERS OF  
THE EARTH THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL  
STATION TO WHICH THE LAWS OF NATURE  
AND OF NATURE'S GOD ENTITLE THEM, A  
DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF  
MANKIND REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD  
DECLARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM  
TO THE SEPARATION.

UNITED STATES DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE  
JULY 4, 1776

#### FOREWORD

"... The party of the traditional elite may well be led by men who have received Western education, but they nonetheless represent the ruling elite of the pre-colonial period. Such an elite, if it has not been destroyed by colonial rule, seeks to continue its dominance and to accept only such modernisation of the economy and the administrative system as will not threaten its power and status. The Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.) of Northern Nigeria is such a party; ..."

P. C. Lloyd : Africa in Social Change.

A major contributory factor to the tragic events leading up to and including the war smouldering between Nigeria and the Republic of Biafra has been the failure or refusal of Western Powers (the colonialists) to acknowledge that the constitutional arrangements they fabricated for their former colonies when they reluctantly handed over power were doomed from the onset owing to the very nature of the people they invariably preferred to hand power to, and to the overall political attitude of the Africans. They chose instead to see the systems merely as applied in their own areas, and closed their eyes to the overriding obstacles indigenous in Africa which would render the appropriate application of these "democratic" systems impossible. This has been particularly true of the Nigerian Federation.

Consequently, when the Federation of Nigeria was wallowing from one constitutional and electoral crisis into another, including a wasteful multimillion rancour over census figures in 1962-63, none of these Powers attempted to speak out or even quietly advise against naked misapplication of the constitutional provisions they themselves laid down. On the contrary, they persisted in misleading the world by their propaganda acclaiming Nigeria the "most democratic and progressive country in Africa", more in order to falsely glorify their colonial "achievements" than for any admiration of the blundering Nigerian political leaders.

And even now that Nigeria's vices could no longer be contained and the myth of her "stability" so ignominiously shattered, none of these Western Powers has had the moral courage to come out on the

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side of justice and humanity. They have chosen instead to look expectantly on the African Nations, most of whose leaders have known phobia for "secession" that their political misdemeanour in their own countries might engender some unforeseeable day. The arena was therefore prepared for such unscrupulous, opportunistic and self-centred revisionists as the Russian leaders to carry out murderous intervention on behalf of Nigeria against the peoples of Biafra — men, women and children.

The aim of this issue is to provide the ordinary man, who usually has the human touch to ask what is happening, as distinct from the volley of propaganda that emanates from the radio, with a rudimentary insight into the fateful and tragic events upon which hang the liberty, hope and even lives of thirteen million Biafrans and their future generations.

Naturally the Biafran view is more represented here than the other side. But it is the Biafrans that are suffering; they are at the receiving end. So it is to their plight that the international conscience is to be turned. The world is being asked: why should the peoples of Biafra, long buffeted about in a "paper" federation, and recently subjected to a clear policy of methodical annihilation, not have the right in the 20th century to take up their place as a sovereign nation in the comity of nations?

N. B. E.

# NIGERIA — A CASTLE OF CLAY

by : Okey Anyadike

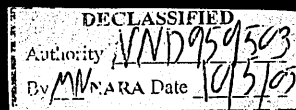
"There is no Nigerian nation, no Nigerian language... and no Nigerian tradition. The very name of Nigeria was invented by the British to describe a country inhabited by a medley of tribes with no common culture, and united only insofar as they are governed by a single Power."

Sir Alan Burns, Administrator of Nigeria, 1954.

This statement is true to this day. Paradoxically, it was such eminent politicians as Chief Awolowo, who today is "fighting for Nigerian Unity" that sought so much to keep Nigeria merely as a group of nation-states with almost nothing in common, except the name Nigeria. He and his tribally oriented political party did more than any other group to prevent Nigeria from emerging as a real nation. He had seen in the exploitation of ethnic differences and sentiment his cheapest chance of creating a political party that would be led by himself, and Nigerian life and politics never recovered from the injurious effects of that unfortunate injection.

The official "birth" of Nigeria can be dated back to January 1st 1900, when the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria were created. In fact the name Nigeria had only appeared in print 3 years earlier in 1897. But Nigeria did not come into being as a single unit until 1914 when Lord Lugard, the British Colonist and first Governor of Nigeria, amalgamated the Northern and Southern Protectorates. This union of the two Protectorates under a single administration — Lugard and the British Colonial Office — in January 1914, affords an opportunity for some elementary observations. According to the analysis by W. B. Hamilton in "The Evolution of British Policy Toward Nigeria": "There was a Governor General in Lugard's case an autocrat, but the component divisions of the country remained clear: the colony of Lagos with an administrator; the Northern and Southern provinces, the latter of which was later divided into Western and Eastern. The purpose was not to try to make a Unitary State, the North and the South would of necessity have different treatment. The chief reasons for the union were financial: the South produced a surplus in revenue, while the North was

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poverty-stricken and required annual subventions from Britain. Together, the South could help pay for the North, and development costs could be spread around on an equalisation or distribution principle. In addition, communications and transportations, especially a unified administration of railways, required union. The unifying effect of Lugard's scheme with its single name and central governor, its administration of policy by a single pair of hands is not to be discounted. Still it may be seen in retrospect that the unifying influences that were more important were the Southern penetration of the Muslim-Fulani-Hausa in the early 19th century, the South-North tie of the railroads and roads, the fact that northern trade perforce must run to the south and through it to the ports, and the nationalist aspirations of some of the southern patriots.

"Much of Lugard's action ran counter to these forces. Indirect rule (rule through chiefs) which was elevated into a dogma so absurd that it led to the artificial effort to make chiefs in Iboland in order that there would be chiefs through which to govern — while a necessity, was also a dividing force. So was his protection of the North from the forces of the 20th century. (It is a strange fact that the British administrators almost to a man were much in sympathy with the reactionary emirs.) Lugard did not like the South, or its people. He never felt at home there, as he did with the people he had conquered and remade in the Northern Protectorate. He heartily disliked the educated Africans in the South and excluded them from Government, even wiping out the little embryonic legislative council in the colony that was characteristic of the 19th century crown colony, with its handful of "unofficial" members. This exclusion of course perversely made nationalists of them; and indirect rule set them against the chiefs."

Nothing of much political significance happened up till 1944 when Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe's National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.) was formed. This party remained the only nationalist party in Nigeria for many years. The groundwork for the party was actually started in 1942 when a group of Nigerian intellectuals living in Lagos formed themselves into what they called the Nigeria Reconstruction Group. They met every Sunday in Dr. Azikiwe's house to discuss political, social and economic problems which affected contemporary Nigeria. These men then felt that a national front organisation was necessary to act as a mouthpiece for expressing the aspirations of Nigerians in various walks of life. Thus in 1944 came what has been described as "a confederation of trade unions, smaller

parties, tribal unions and literary groups". It was in short an experiment in fusion and gained massive membership for that.

Dr. Azikiwe's political plan was that Nigeria be divided into 8 states and have a strong central government. But there were many forces against him and the Nationalists. First was the Governor, Sir Arthur Richards, who in 1946 introduced the controversial Richards' constitution which divided Nigeria into 3 groups of provinces (East, West, North) and the colony of Lagos, thus beginning the Federal System of Government. Then there were Chief Awolowo and some followers who strongly believed in a federal form of government and had since 1941 been trying to convince the other Yoruba intellectuals of the advantages to Yorubas of a federal system as that was likely to save them from what he called "Ibo domination".

It is not surprising that in 1948, Chief Awolowo formed a tribal cultural organisation called "Egbe Omo Oduduwa". At that time, it was only a cultural organisation and included most of the leading Yorubas in Lagos and Ibadan. This was later to be converted into a political party in 1951, the Action Group.

True to the British policy of divide and rule, the British administrators advised the Northerners to form a party to protect them from what they described as ambitious southern politicians, and in 1949 the Northern Peoples' Congress was formed.

The Richards' Constitution was replaced by the Macpherson Constitution. This went one step further in regionalisation and introduced for the first time political units with distributed legislative and financial powers, representation in the central legislature as regional units, separate ministries and other provisions of a federalistic kind. With the founding of Egbe Omo Oduduwa, there was a split in the Nationalist front. Dr. Azikiwe accused Awolowo and his Yoruba following of wanting to use Federalism to break up the country and take what they could get out of it for themselves and those they represented; he objected to the 3-way division of Nigeria as amounting to "balkanisation".

The Action Group, the Yoruba-backed political party that finally emerged from the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, was launched in March 1951 on the eve of elections into the Western Nigeria House of Assembly, and through post-election "carpet-crossing" it succeeded in wresting power in the western house from Dr. Azikiwe's N.C.N.C. Since the

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Macpherson constitution incorporated Lagos into Western Nigeria, the Action Group "victory" in the 1951 election froze out Azikiwe from the centre and he had to return to the East in 1953 where he eventually became premier. Thus we see how the events of 1951 mischannelled Nigerian politics and regionalism and tribalism replaced Nationalism. Before 1951 Nigeria was fast on the way to independence according to the time-table of the nationalists. But as forces of tribalism came to the forefront of political activities the clock became set considerably backwards. The Northerners maintained they did not have the men to run an independent government and threatened a separate existence, if independence came too early, because they feared domination by Southerners. And the Southerners were very divided because Awolowo and his followers spent their energy fighting what they called "Ibo domination". It is an irony that Awolowo who wrote that "Nigeria is a mere geographical expression", and that "all these incompatibilities among the various peoples in the country militate against unification", should today be the "protagonist of Nigerian Unity".

All through the years Easterners made various concessions to help keep Nigeria a united country. They never insisted, as the other regions did, often without logical reason, on having any major original Federal project sited in the East, all to avoid being accused of grabbing things for themselves. All the same, the other regions were not appeased. All the efforts of Eastern politicians to obtain a constitutional change to emphasise more unifying rather than divisive factors in the country and to ensure a more meaningful democracy were torpedoed by Northern leaders who sought to retain their unfair stranglehold on Federal politics.

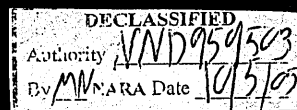
In spite of the naked contradictions and tensions in Nigeria, blatant electoral rigging which made democracy look like child's play, bitter crises over matters like census figures, and intemperate indulgence in bribery, corruption and nepotism in high and low places, it suited the Western press to play up Nigeria as a showpiece of African Democracy, since it helped them to play down the role of resurgent African nationalists like Nkruma, Julius Nyerere and Sekou Toure. Nigeria was described as the "most progressive" African country! It is interesting to note that this "most progressive" African country, after 7 years of independence still has an income per capita of just 25/- pounds sterling and the standard of living of 90% of the population is at all time low. It is known that whilst in 1962 80% of the children of school age in Southern Nigeria were in school, it is only hoped that

by 1970, 25% of children of school age in Northern Nigeria will be in school! If, however, progress of a country was measured by the number of limousines each minister possessed, then, and only then, should Nigeria be mentioned.

In 1962, there was a nationwide census taken. The figures from the count were rejected by the Northern-dominated Federal Government because it was found that the total population of the South exceeded that of the North. In 1963 the census was repeated and the results were not released until the Northerners had altered the figures to suit their political intentions. N.P.C.-manipulated figures put Nigeria's population at 56 million. A press publication, which put the population at about 42 million, was probably much closer to the truth, since in 1937, Nigeria was estimated at 35 million by the British, and could not possibly have grown to 56 million, which, according to the Government release, occurred mainly in the North, representing double the 1937 estimates, in spite of very high death rate and infant mortality. The East Nigeria government took the Federal Government to task, asking that the obviously inflated figures be suspended until an independent body made another count. The N.P.C. turned down the demand. It was over this issue that the N.C.N.C. began to reconsider its position as N.P.C.'s junior partner in the Federal Coalition.

The gap was getting wider, and tension was rising. In 1964, a nation-wide election "took place" — the first since independence, and the world should have learned something from the obvious vacuity of Nigeria's "democracy". The N.P.C. locked up opposing candidates and refused to give other parties a chance to campaign; a bitter crisis followed in which the President and the Prime Minister disagreed openly over constitutional rights. That should have shown the world how Africa's "show-piece" of democracy worked. A democracy that denied the majority of the population the right to vote or be voted for, simply because they held different views from the party in power. After this 1964 election crisis, things really fell apart. Then began the witch-hunt for Easterners. And it was even carried into institutes of higher learning where the heads of Lagos and Ibadan Universities were one after the other pushed out because they were Ibos, and replaced by Westerners who simply wanted what they termed their "share of the national cake". This haunt continued and many highly qualified easterners had no choice but to move to the East to find new jobs, if possible. Several had to move to other countries altogether.

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The Western Nigeria election of 1965 and the deadly crisis that followed it was the last straw that broke the camel's back, and culminated in the military coup in January 1966. The nation-wide jubilation that followed the military take-over showed how much people were discontented with the Federal Government. But the elation was shortlived; for the press and radio of the colonialist world took extreme pains to portray the coup as an "Ibo affair", and thus cultivated the hostilities that soon exploded the fragile framework of the "Castle of Clay".

To summarise, it is contended that the trend of the last decade and a half has been toward separation rather than unity; that there has been no real emergency of symbols that would attract the loyalties or even the attention, of the illiterate and impoverished masses, that increased urbanisation, unbalanced economic development, and social mobility have not as yet resulted in a new social setting on which ties of national unity can rest. Without the existence of such comprehensive ties of unity with national consciousness, a Nigerian Federal System must either remain a weak affair or disappear entirely. Chances are more that this system will disappear.

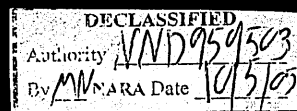
## REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA - A NATION'S BID FOR SURVIVAL

by : Nnamdi B. Emetarom

When in the early '60's the late Sardauna of Sokoto, the politico-spiritual leader of Northern Nigeria, boasted that he would march south (meaning Southern Nigeria) to continue the conquest and extend the empire created in the North by his Fulani ancestor, Ottoman Dan Fodio, he was not just being flamboyant. He spelled out in words a dream, long cherished by Northern Nigerians, which formed the basis of the Northerners' political platform, and which, at different times and in various forms reared its ugly head to hit out at Southerners and especially Eastern Nigerians, until finally something had to be done about it.

The proclamation of the sovereign Republic of Biafra, embracing the former Eastern Region of Nigeria, on May 20 1967, could hardly have come as a surprise to anyone who had followed events in Nigeria since its emergence as an independent Federation in 1960. What was surprising was that the Federation of Nigeria, a time-bomb from its conception, could have lasted till May 1967 before exploding, in view of the serious crises that its politicians brought upon it in 1964 and 1965, and the massacres of Easterners, especially Ibos, living in Northern Nigeria, in May and July 1966. These two massacres, of which the July episode was more serious, resulted in the death in cold-blood of 30,000 Easterners and the mass return to their homeland of 1.8 million people, most of whom lost all their belongings in the nightmarish Northern hunt-down. In the Federal capital, Lagos, and in other parts of the Federation, simultaneous harassment and intimidation (as well as instances of outright murder) of Easterners in high and low places compelled thousands to flee from their homes and jobs to take refuge in the East, the only part of the Federation where they could feel physically secure. Within the space of a few weeks, the spectre of Northern hostility had created a state of affairs in which Easterners and their future generations were virtually condemned to being strangers and personae non-gratae in most parts of the land that their fathers bore the brunt of wresting from the vicious grips of colonial tutelage.

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The long delay in proclaiming the new Republic spoke amply for the patience exercised by the leaders of Biafra, in their belief that the Federal Government could be persuaded to accept a compromise solution that could retain the country basically as one political entity whilst effectively guaranteeing the security, bodily and spiritually, of all its peoples and preventing a recurrence of hostilities. In other words a Confederation. All along, the leaders of Biafra resisted enormous popular pressure back at home urging them to pull out of what was tantamount to a paper federation. It was the adamant insistence of the Federal Government (essentially the mouthpiece of the Northern people, incidentally) on a return to the same old constitutional situation which served as fuel for hostilities, coupled with mischievous moves to antagonise the East by destroying the unity of purpose that all Easterners were so proud of by stirring up minority consciousness and unrest in the region, whilst strangling it economically by sea and air blockades, that finally forced the reluctant hands of the leaders of the East, and culminated in the proclamation of the sovereign Republic of Biafra.

It should be pointed out that to see the birth of Biafra in the light of economic interest or a clash of economic ambitions would amount to oversimplification and gross ignorance. To equate Biafra with Katanga is to deliberately overlook the enormous shortcomings of African constitutions, especially those handed down by ex-colonial masters, which make them unworkable in the context of contemporary African society and political dispositions.

Biafra's case is that of national survival. It has a concrete logical as well as moral basis. The nation represents the last hope of peoples that have been subjected to long periods of intolerable provocation and hostility, for no other reason than that they put in all they could to make Nigeria a truly democratic federation, and not simply a white sepulchre that ex-colonial masters showed off to the world as a "model of parliamentary democracy and stability in Africa".

The fact was that Nigeria remained a "model" and never got off to being a real nation. There was never a sense of nationhood. (WHEN GOWON FOUND POWER DROPPED INTO HIS HANDS IN JULY 1966 HE DECLARED THAT THERE WAS NO BASIS FOR UNITY IN NIGERIA, AND THAT, IN FACT, WAS THE ONLY CANDID STATEMENT HE HAS EVER MADE. IT CAME FROM HIS HEART. THEREAFTER HE BEGAN TO ACT.) Tribal allegiance remained the primary

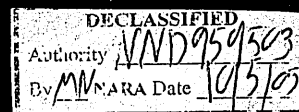
preoccupation of Nigerians in all walks of life. The reigns for power were in the hands of feudal lords who did not understand the essence of modern politics and did not even take part in the national movements that secured independence from British colonialists. Bribery and corruption became synonymous with the life of the people and the country. Proficiency and merit were relegated to the background as nepotism and mediocrity became the order of the day! Parliamentary democracy became a hollow sham as blatant electoral rigging and intimidation of voters at the ballot box became the watchword of Northern politicians and their supporters, especially in Western Nigeria.

It is true that in Nigeria which called itself a "united" country, mass unemployment of professionals and university graduates obtained in the South (i.e., East, West, Midwest and Lagos), whilst the Northern Nigeria Government imported personnel no better qualified than the Southern Nigerians from England, India, Pakistan and Egypt rather than employ equally qualified candidates from Southern Nigeria. This was in pursuit of what they termed "Northernisation Policy", evolved to exclude Southerners from working in the North. Surely, such a policy could not have indicated much basic goodwill among people of the "same" country.

When on top of all these, barbaric hostility was unleashed on the people of Biafra, there could be no question of continuing under the same system that essentially had failed. We had to insure for our future generations a life worth the living, and in doing this, considerations of economic viability or advantage could only be secondary.

Biafra's pull-out came only after attempts to work out a compromise with the Federal Government failed. The leaders of the Republic of Biafra had put forward several times a comprehensive proposal for a confederation as the only constitutional arrangement to provide a meaningful form of one Nigeria. On all occasions the Lagos regime rejected it outright. It had to be a return to the strong-centre federation, implying the continuation of Northern hegemony and menace; by willful submission of the Biafrans or by cajolery from Lagos. Even when the leader of the Lagos regime, formerly Col. Yakubu Gowon and now styled Major-General Y. Gowon, summoned what he called a constitutional conference to find out a new constitution for the country, he sat in in full military paraphernalia and ordered the members not to consider the merits or demerits of a unitary system, not to think of a

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confederal system, but just to seek out how to consolidate power at the centre — in other words, in his hands. By so doing he hoped to obtain a constitutional backing for his regime which up to date is still unconstitutional. His stand made nonsense of the meeting, and soon delegates from the East had to quit. The assembly flopped.

Leaders of the East were persistent in suggesting that some African Heads of State be invited to help resolve the impasse; the Lagos regime remained obdurately opposed to the idea, and went on threatening the use of force should the east attempt to secede. Once, however, the Ghana Chief of State, General Ankrah, a man very much respected in West Africa and especially by the leaders of both the Lagos regime and the East, succeeded in arranging a meeting between these two leaders at Aburi in Ghana. For a time it seemed as if the crisis was over as the two leaders hammered out a compromise agreement. But the hope never materialised, for on return to Lagos Col. Gowon was told by his advisers that it was a total sell-out to Col. Ojukwu. Gowon immediately rescinded the Aburi agreement and called another meeting in Benin in Nigeria. The disappointed Eastern leaders naturally refused to attend, seeing that it was no use making agreements with Gowon. Things deteriorated rapidly thereafter, and when Lagos moved to split the country into twelve states including three from the tiny East, calculated to emphasise and exploit the existence in the East of a number of other ethnic groups besides the Ibos, to the detriment of the unity that hitherto existed among all the peoples of the East, immediate action was taken — proclamation of independence for Biafra.

It was still hoped in Biafra, nonetheless, that realism could prevail in Lagos, and that whatever good-will remained could be given expression in form of large-scale cooperation on the lines of Europe's Benelux. Even after Gowon ordered his blood-thirsty troops into Biafra early in July 1967 and the carnage that has resulted from it, up to date, Biafran leaders still keep the door for cooperation on the basis of sovereignty open. The area could be not just a "model" but an example of regional cooperation and development between mutually respecting sovereign nations — the sort of positive creativity that the concept of African Unity needs to get it off the drawing boards.

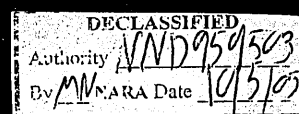
But myopic belligerency seems to be all the Federal Government of Nigeria has to offer. In this the Federalists are encouraged by the Soviet bankrupt policy of handing out arms from the massive Soviet

arms museum whenever the Kremlin sees a cheap opportunity to gain a foothold somewhere. For reasons of self-interest best known to the Soviet leaders, they have chosen to help camouflaged feudal reactionaries slaughter proven progressives, whilst the rest of the Big Powers are content with watching the holocaust. The Russians had in effect escalated the war unilaterally just at a time every right-thinking person thought that military deadlock was about to bring the warring nations to the conference table.

But the people of Biafra have fought and are fighting gallantly. Despite air, sea and land blockades, inferiority of numerical strength and military hardware, they have proved more than a match for the bloodthirsty invaders from Nigeria. And in their hearts the Lagos militarists know that. They also know that their only chance to achieve their abominable ends in Biafra lies in bribing susceptible Biafran military and civilian officials into betraying the Biafran cause. When their most elaborate plot in this respect was recently uncovered and smashed, though not until it had enabled them to claim undeserved "victories" at Enugu, Calabar and in the Midwest, their "crack" troops soon came to a standstill. The Biafran determination to hit back and the ability to do so was exemplified by the shattering defeat inflicted on Federalist forces that tried to attack Onitsha in October. And greater Biafran achievements will no doubt follow.

When Col. Gowon says he is fighting for Nigerian unity, his ostentation should not be mistaken for honesty. Unity to include the Biafrans can never have a meaning in Nigeria. Despite broadcast pledges from Lagos, carefully arranged for external consumption, it is obvious that the Federal Government is an instrument for systematically carrying out the age-long Northern Hausa-Fulani dream of "conquering" the south (for they have virtually conquered the Western Region without a shot). At the end, if Gowon succeeds, we will have achieved the relationship between the horse and the rider, with the people of Biafra serving as the horse. International observers, as usual, seem to take Gowon's statements at face value and therefore look on in indifference as Biafrans — men, women, children and intellectuals — die under Soviet and Czech bombs and guns. The Biafrans alone know that Nigerian Government pledges and statements are not to be taken seriously, especially as no external power will be there later to ensure that pledges made are carried out to the letter. Nigeria has been and still remains a time-bomb that will explode someday; those who proclaim

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"Nigerian unity" and use it as an excuse for genocide surely know the ambiguity of their announced position.

So Biafrans will fight on. Lagos militarists may assume victory today but they are grossly mistaken. Independence struggles are never so straight-forward. Victory on the battlefield may be temporarily easy, especially in the light of arms imbalance; but the spirit of a people to fight on in defence of its liberty may be harder, or, in Biafra's case, impossible, to subdue. It is this fact, if nothing else, that will in the long run turn the Federal aggressors about and out of Biafran territory for ever.

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Col. Gowon recently took issue with Nigerian intellectuals. He complained that they do not support his regime, and instead all support Biafran head of state, Col. Ojukwu.

Comment: It is not surprising. Intellectuals are the people who think, question, and distinguish. They know, of course, who represents progress and who reaction and retrogression.

(Incidentally, Mr. Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian writer, was sentenced by the Lagos regime to a very stiff jail term without adequate trial, falsely charged with "spying for Biafra". Pressmen and a delegation of writers that requested to see him were turned back.)

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# BIAFRA AND WORLD CONSCIENCE

by: Godwin Nwafor

"The doctrine of national independence has shaken the globe, and it remains the most powerful force anywhere in the world today. There are those struggling to eke out a bare existence in a barren land, who have never heard of free enterprise, but who cherish the idea of independence. There are those who are grappling with overpowering problems of illiteracy and ill-health, and who are ill-equipped to hold free elections, but they are determined to hold fast to their national independence. Even those unwilling or unable to take part in any struggle between East and West are strongly on the side of their own national independence."

— John F. Kennedy  
(July 4, 1962)

So with Biafra! And history has enjoined this generation of Biafrans, by destiny rather than by choice, to spill their precious blood, if need be, for their national independence.

The nascent Biafran nationalism ranks in historical epoch with the heroic struggles of all peoples the world over for their national freedom. The determination and drive are no less potent than those which animated the heroic struggles of the Mau-mau, the self-sacrificing determination of the Fellaga of Algeria, and the blood-shed and determination of the beleaguered American forces at Valley Forge! All have been motivated under identical impulses of self-determination — a universally accepted principle — that individuals who recognised a national kinship, whether of common ancestry, historical experience, religious and cultural mold or of other factors of profound cultural and sociological significance must have a common national basis.

Biafra does not therefore view its independence as a privilege, nor something to be bestowed upon her. It is a categorical imperative and a natural right. And it is high time the world, and Africa in particular, realise this basic truth and came to terms with it.

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Above all, the world must recognise things as they are and not just as they would have it be for convenience. The indisputable fact is, that the seven years experiment at "Nigerian Federalism" failed woefully. Biafra is born! And Biafra cannot fulfil her historical role to her people, to Africa, and to the world without her independence.

It is therefore surprising, and indeed difficult to understand why the apathy and indifference of the world, and the African countries in particular, at this decisive hour in Biafran history! Is this another aspect of the cold wind of universal indifference to human suffering, which encouraged brutality and savagery twenty-five years ago? Or does the world not know that fourteen million Biafrans, battered by the storms of persecution, are now threatened with extermination?

The high hopes and opportunity which heralded the birth of the new nation on the 31st of May 1967 have been severely undermined by the aggressive forces of Colonel Gowon and his collaborators. Biafra is now threatened with annihilation.

Blockaded and invaded by land, air and sea, her people have for the past six months fought heroically and at one time even drove the enemy far beyond Biafran frontiers. This created a military stalemate and Biafrans were determined to defend their new state. Unfortunately, either due to sheer indifference, or perhaps the world felt the blood-shed in the Middle East and Vietnam was more precious than that of Biafrans, failed to restrain the excesses and atrocities of Col. Gowon's forces, buoyed on by the Soviet Union which, apparently in an attempt to salvage its dwindling prestige from the dust of the Six Day War in the Middle East, deliberately tipped the scales against Biafra. She airlifted massive military supply to the "Federal" Nigerian army while the rest of the world looked on.

Biafra has no wish for her territory to become a battleground for the East-West cold war: Biafrans realise too well that:

"Where two elephants fight  
it is the grass that suffers."

But Biafra deserves some justice, the least of which is an active intervention of the U.N. and the O.A.U., and the immediate recognition and international guarantee of her independence and territorial integrity. This humble desire has been long delayed!

At this juncture it may be pertinent to point out that Biafra's decision to secede from the unworkable and artificial "Federation of Nigeria" is not a precedent in recent history of many new nations. Indeed, colonial empires were rife with unwieldy federations created to facilitate administrative machinery for the colonial powers. While colonial armies terrorised the nationalists, these time-bombs remained. On the departure of the colonial powers, these federal facades exploded and out of their ruins emerged new and more virile nation states. The Nigerian Federation has failed for similar and other reasons. To pretend that Nigeria is a single nation is to deceive oneself and to try to enforce such a Federation against the will of the people must evoke the memory of the dark days and horrors of the colonial administration in the minds of all decent Africans!

It is therefore not surprising that the Central African Federation created in 1953 by the British colonialists have disintegrated and new independent states of Zambia and Malawi have emerged and the peoples of Zimbabwe are now engaged in a bitter struggle to achieve their independence. This happened despite British argument that the Federation was a sine qua non for rapid economic growth. The Africans retorted that: "Freedom in poverty is better than slavery in plenty". They were right! Since independence, Zambia and Malawi have cooperated in economic matters and no doubt when Zimbabwe becomes independent, this cooperation will be strengthened further. This same trend was also followed by French Equatorial Africa which was ruled by France as a single administrative unit. In September 1960 when France departed, it did not give independence to a Federation, but to three nation-states — Gabon, Chad and Congo Republic (Brazzaville).

Recently Singapore pulled out of the Malaysian Federation. This was a bloodless affair, unlike what is now happening in the Nigerian-Biafran war. Is it not time someone made Col. Gowon realise what Malaysian leaders knew too well?

"You may defeat the army of a people  
but not their spirit and drive for self-  
determination and national independence."

This is an elementary rule which anybody worthy of his name as a ruler ought to have learned in the lower rungs of the ladder to power.

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It may also be worthwhile to examine more closely whether Biafra's independence is essentially in conflict with the goals and aspirations of African Unity. Far from the truth! Indeed African Unity can only be achieved by mutual agreement of independent states. The first process in the realisation of African Unity is now generally accepted to be a gradual integration of economic projects, etc. It is only through Regional Economic, Cultural and Educational cooperation can a solid foundation towards political integration be laid. If anything, the emergence of the sovereign Republic of Biafra can speed up the day when the aforementioned ingredients of regional cooperation will take root on the West Coast of Africa. Indeed, Biafra's Head of State, Col. Ojukwu has made it clear that Biafra is in favour of such projects.

But the immediate question is that of right to independent existence for Biafra. A sovereign United States of Africa will no doubt be realised in some distant future, but fourteen million Biafrans are today on the verge of total extermination, unless something is done.

History alone can give decisive answers to these questions. The world and Africa cannot shrink away from the responsibility of reconciling the tragic paradox — how the secession of fourteen million Biafrans poses a threat to the realisation of African Unity, while the independent existence of countries like Gambia (300,000), Gabon (500,000), Dahomey (1,000,000), etc. does not. In fact, over three quarters of the member states of the Organisation for African Unity have populations less than Biafra.

The simple and straightforward demand for sovereignty and self-determination by Biafra has been, and is, as strongly motivated as that of countries like Gabon, Zambia, Singapore and Malawi, when they opted out of their various colonial-created federations. In the case of Biafra it is even stronger, perhaps, because the provocation, the suffering, the massacres and privation have been so much more considerable. Biafrans had been stripped of all powers, driven from every position in public and social life, denied sojourn in other parts of the then "Nigerian Federation", expelled from the professions and silenced in the press; and of late massacre and a slow process of annihilation has set in.

Let posterity know and be astonished that the brutal extermination of fourteen million Biafrans has been committed in the 20th century, barely twenty years after the horrors of Nazi Europe and

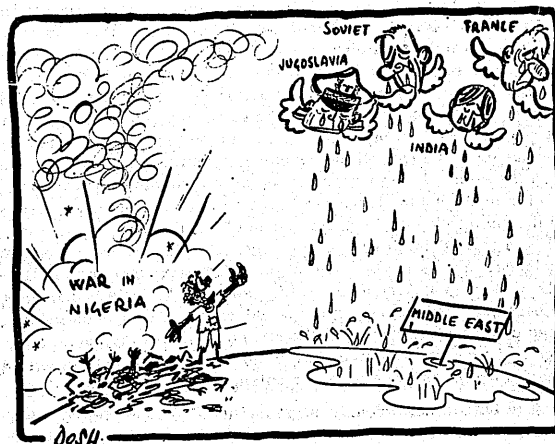
only seven years after the blood of Africans — fighting for self-determination — discolored the streets of Sharpsville on the 21st of March 1960.

The indifference of civilised humanity must bear a heavy responsibility for the assault and abasement of human dignity being perpetrated by Col. Gowon and his blood-thirsty troops. What will future generations yet unborn say to an international order which begrudged a people the very conditions of its physical survival?

How hollow and empty the United Nations' Human Rights Charter, the Charter of the O.A.U., and even the Bible will sound on the morrow of the violent annihilation of fourteen million Biafrans!

"In a contest for a better life  
All the world can be a winner."

J. F. K.  
(20th Sept. 1963)



Courtesy of The Jerusalem Post,  
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### THE FUTURE OUTLOOK

by : E. C. Eneh

If we Biafrans, by our own might or aided by friendly nations, will survive the futile war Nigeria has forced on us, or if Nigeria, realising the futility of the war, will end the state of belligerency, then Biafra is on the threshold of achievements. This is because her future, economically, i.e., the nation's viability, has never been in doubt. And if the measure of a nation is "its capacity to maintain some kind of autonomy — political and economical — against its environment", as suggested by Rutgers Professor Neil McDonald, then Biafra is a well-qualified nation and state. This expose is intended to show how Biafra possesses a great measure of economic heft and political substance and can easily mature into a nation worthy of her name.

Physically and geographically, Biafra is not a colonial creation. All of us know and regret the 19th century imperialists' division of territorial spoils in Africa, confined with arbitrary frontiers. Such colonial creations are either so small that they have no independent viability, or so large and composed of such disparate ethnic groups that they have no common sense of nationhood, as in the case of old Nigeria. Biafra is the creation of powerful indigenous forces. There is a reality about the birth of Biafra, in blood and confusion, that there never was about all the ceremonial haulings-down of flags in which the colonial authorities handed over symbols of power to selected orators and dignitaries. Biafra is an act of consciousness and the realisation of the great dream of the Easterners for what will be a truly democratic government. Biafra does have a political substance. She is led by some of the brightest promising intellectuals of resurgent Africa, as well as some of Africa's best-known and best qualified statesmen of the old guard. All of them established progressives and revolutionaries. This is why Soviet marriage to Lagos reactionaries is the more puzzling except in the light of self-interest and wanton opportunism.

It is sometimes wrongly suggested that "antagonism" between Ibos and non-Ibos inside Biafra is more or less equivalent to the hostility between the Hausas of the North and the Ibos of the East,

so that if it is wrong for Eastern Nigeria to be dominated by the North, it is equally wrong for non-Ibos to be dominated by Ibos inside Eastern Nigeria. An attempt is even made to present the Federal troops as "liberating" the minorities in Biafra from Ibo oppression. This is completely unfounded for various reasons :

1. The organisers of the Northern massacres did not generally distinguish between all the peoples of the East. For that matter, the only Southerners spared were those of Western origin who had Yoruba tribal markings.
2. When Gowon led his "crack" troops to their doom in Ogoja (a non-Ibo area) at the beginning of hostilities, it was the Biafran army (composed of Ibos and non-Ibos) and the local civilian population (non-Ibos) that sapped the strength of these troops and reduced them to mere stragglers.
3. In job distribution and amenity allocation in Biafra, considered per capita, the non-Ibos are not by a degree less favoured. Wrote Conor Cruise O'Brien, Schweitzer Professor of Humanities, New York University, on his return from Biafra on a fact-finding mission : "I saw nothing to suggest that if the East were left alone, its population could not live together on as reasonable terms as do the populations of the United Kingdom which has also minority problems".

As for availability of manpower, there is no doubt. People of Eastern Nigerian origin have formed for a long time an intellectual backbone for the then Nigeria. And it stems from progressiveness, foresight and hard work, with just one addition : a tremendous willingness to help one another. These factors made easy the pursuit of a technological world with zest. In the then five Nigerian Universities, in England, America and Israel — in fact in any country where technology is a watchword, people of Eastern Nigerian origin have sought for knowledge with avidity. By 1960, when Nigerian independence was granted, there was a very sizeable number of these people in the field — in factories, industries and various agricultural projects. By 1967, when the Republic of Biafra was proclaimed, she already possessed a professional and educated elite to run the affairs of government and a very efficient civil service. Desmond White of the Daily Telegraph described Biafrans as "enterprising, and industrious, thrusting and westernized". Referring to the abundance of technologists in Biafra,

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American Time Magazine of 28th July 1967 wrote at the beginning of hostilities : "At a Port Harcourt automotive assembly plant, Biafran engineers rolled out their first home-made tanks — trucks plated with armour. Mechanics in the railway repair shop at Enugu, Biafra's capital, were busy making bombs for Biafra's lone B-26".

This abundance of skilled manpower has made progress relatively easy in all fields of human endeavour. Biafra, like many African countries, has agriculture as her mainstay and her people have been very aware of this. Immediately independence was granted in 1960, the Nationalists turned to nation-building. First in the race was the then Premier of Eastern Nigeria, Dr. M. I. Okpara. Coming back from a study tour of Israel, he initiated far-reaching agricultural revolutions. "I am already an Israeli, you have just got to see how things are done there" he said. He set up a Faculty of Agriculture in the now Biafran University of Nsukka and three agricultural research centres and patronised them so generously that agricultural careers in their various facets became the ambition of many young men. Obviously borrowing a leaf from Israel's kibbutzim, he set up farm settlements in all the provincial divisions. The result : Biafra produces palm oil, palm kernel, rubber, cocoa and timber in commercial quantities, and yams, cocoa yams, maize, corn, rice, plantains, bananas, citrus, cassava, vegetables, live stock, dairy products, etc., for local consumption. No wonder then that in spite of land, sea and air blockades Biafra has not lacked in basic agricultural supplies.

But no really stable country can largely depend on fluctuating cocoa and rubber. Biafra doesn't. She has set up a chain of industries from Port Harcourt and Calabar in the South to Enugu and Nsukka in the North. She is blessed with mineral deposits — oil, coal, iron, bauxite, limestone, etc. Wrote Time Magazine of 9th June 1967, Biafra is "potentially a viable economic state". Exports of crude oil alone in 1966 amounted to \$250-million. Wrote Professor Conor O'Brien : "Potentially, in resources and skills and human energy, Biafra is probably the richest nation in tropical Africa". Biafra has eight industrial layouts of which three are in heavy industry. There are steel and cement industries, galvanizing and refining industries, breweries, asbestos and textile industries. Light industries include ceramics and footwear. There is also a fishing industry in the Delta area. Boat-building is carried out at Opobo. There is a steady supply of power. The natural gas in Afam and the Oji hydro-electric station

can meet much of Biafra's energy needs. There is a bright future for tourism too. With a stable and pliant government, there is ample room for foreign investments.

The only obstacles to our development are the forced Federation that Lagos advocates, which does not really want us as people but wants our resources, and Gowon's sworn purpose to "crush" us. If some of the brightest hopes of Africa are not to be buried in the debris of the Nigerian Federation, then the world at large and all men of goodwill have a moral responsibility to use their influence to bring about a cessation of hostilities and a negotiated settlement based on Biafra's sovereignty.

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LONDON PASS FOREIGN OFFICE OTHERS PASS BRITISH MISSIONS:

DIORI SAW BRITISH CHARGE AND ME TOGETHER FOR FEW MINUTES EARLY THIS AFTERNOON. OUR MEETING FOLLOWED FOUR AND A HALF SESSION BETWEEN DIORI AND TUBMAN AND REPRESENTATIVES OF WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. THREE EX PRESIDENTS DAHOMEY ARRIVED IN TOWN WHILE THIS MEETING IN PROGRESS, ADDING TO EXCITEMENT, GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE CONFUSION AND PRESS ACTIVITY. UNFORTUNATELY DIORI TOO PRESSED TO GIVE US OTHER THAN SHORT GENERAL FILL IN ON ACTIVITIES TO DATE.

HE OPENED MEETING BY COMMENTING ON DELICACY OF TALKS AND PROBLEMS FOREIGN PRESS, ESPECIALLY BRITISH AND AMERICAN, CAUSING BY THEIR INSISTANCE BLOW BY BLOW REPORTS COMMITTEE SESSIONS AND REPEATED EFFORTS BUTTONHOLE MEMBERS VARIOUS DELEGATIONS IN HALLS OR AT THEIR VILLA. WE BOTH EXPLAINED TO DIORI WHAT WE HAD BEEN DOING INDIVIDUALLY WITH BRITISH AND AMERICAN PRESS REPRESENTATIVES WHICH WE SATISFIED

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HAD HELPED KEEP SPECULATION AND SENSATIONAL COPY TO MINIMUM. DIORI AND DIALLO TELLI, WHO PARTICIPATED IN PART OUR MEETING WHILE CLEARING TEXT THIS AFTERNOON COMMUNIQUE WITH DIORI, BREATHED REAL SIGH OF RELIEF WHEN INFORMED DEPARTURE YESTERDAY SEVERAL CORRESPONDENTS THEY FEEL CREATED MOST PROBLEMS.

DIORI EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OUR EFFORTS AND ASKED US CONTINUE TRY IMPRESS ON PRESS DELICACY AND IMPORTANCE THESE MEETINGS AND FACT UNWARRANTED PRESS SPECULATION AND COPY CAN BE DETRIMENTAL EFFORTS EVERYONE MAKING KEEP TALKS MOVING IN FAVORABLE DIRECTION. WE ASSURED HIM WE WOULD CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS. DIORI SAID COMMITTEE AND NIGERIAN DELEGATION HAVING TROUBLE COMMUNICATING WITH LAGOS AND LIBREVILLE. HE ASKED BRITISH CHARGE TO SEEK COOPERATION BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN MINIMIZING ANY HITCH IN SWIFT TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMMUNICATIONS ON LONDON-LAGOS SECTIONS OF THE TWO LINKS. HE ASKING FRENCH AMBASSADOR DO SAME REGARDING COMMUNICATIONS PARIS-LIBREVILLE. BRITISH CHARGE SENDING SEPARATE MESSAGE OUR FACILITIES.

DIORI ASKED ME IF NECESSARY COULD U.S. EMBASSY TRANSMIT URGENT CONFIDENTIAL MESSAGE LAGOS FOR COMMITTEE OR FMG. HE SAID DID NOT ENVISAGE GREAT NUMBER. INDICATED WOULD REQUEST DEPT AUTHORIZATION. SINCE WE AND FRENCH ONLY ONES WITH CODE FACILITIES NIAMEY ADVISE WHETHER DEPT HAS ANY OBJECTION OUR ASSISTING AS DIORI REQUESTED IN COMMENTING ON PRESS PROBLEMS

MENTIONED ABOVE DIORI SMILED IN A SATISFIED WAY WHEN DIALLO TELLI SHOWED HIM COMMUNIQUE INDICATING AGENDA ADOPTED FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. DIORI SPEAKING WITH SOME EMOTION INDICATED THERE WAS ONE POINT YESTERDAY WHEN MEETING ALMOST BROKE UP. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN IN COMMUNICATIONS WITH HOUPHOUET AND BONGO YESTERDAY AND ALLUDED TO FACT COMMUNICATIONS PROBLEMS REACHING LIBREVILLE HAD CREATED SOME DIFFICULTIES ONE POINT. HE SAID HE SATISFIED WITH PROGRESS

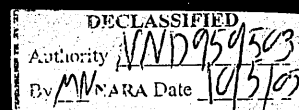
TO DATE AND SATISFIED BOTH GOWON AND OJUKWU WANT PEACE.

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THE SECOND SESSION OF PRELIMINARY PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WERE HELD HERE FROM 9AM TO 1PM.

1) AN AGENDA WAS ADOPTED FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

2) CONCRETE PROPOSALS WERE EXAMINED FOR THE TRANSPORTATION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF THE WAR

3) DISCUSSIONS WILL RESUME TOMORROW, MONDAY, AT 4PM.  
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2. CO APPRECIATES EMB NIAMEY'S PROMPT REPORTING OF DEVELOPMENTS, WHICH WE HAVE BEEN PASSING ALONG, AND HOPES TO HAVE BENEFIT OF REPORTS ON RELEVANT LATE-BREAKING NEWS MONDAY MORNING. LONDON PRESS REPORTS OF OAU SESSIONS IN NIAMEY TEND TO BE INCOMPLETE. THEREFORE PROMPT TRANSMISSION OF FULL TEXTS OF ANNOUNCEMENTS AND STATEMENTS ESPECIALLY USEFUL. BRUCE

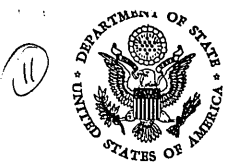
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P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, IO 13, SCS 04,  
SCA 02, PSR 01, /149 W

PIR 200930Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2016  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

UNCLAS NIAMEY 2119

LONDON PASS FOREIGN OFFICE, OTHERS PASS BRITISH MISSIONS.  
SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING  
TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE ISSUED EVENING JULY 19 IS AS  
FOLLOWS:

"THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE  
ON NIGERIA MEETING IN NIAMEY ON 18 JULY 1968.  
"HAVING REVIEWED THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NIGERIAN  
CIVIL WAR,  
"DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT SUFFERINGS OF CIVILIANS ON  
BOTH SIDES,  
"CONSIDERING URGENT NEED FOR SUPPLIES OF FOOD, MEDICINE  
AND CLOTHING TO BE SENT QUICKLY TO AFFECTED AREAS,  
"CONSIDERING FURTHER THE EFFORTS MADE BY VARIOUS  
GOVERNMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS TO CONVEY INTO AFFECTED AREAS  
BADLY NEEDED SUPPLIES OF FOOD, MEDICINE, AND CLOTHING,  
"CONFIDENT THAT THESE GOVERNMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS  
WILL CONTINUE TO GIVE ASSISTANCE TO THE AFFECTED AREAS,  
"MINDFUL OF ITS MANDATE FROM THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF

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Authority VND959503  
By MM NARA Date 10/5/05



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TELEGRAM  
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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02119 201040Z

STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY HELD IN KINSHASA,  
"TAKING NOTE OF THE DECISION BY THE NIGERIAN FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO ESTABLISH A CORRIDOR IN THE TERRITORY IT CONTROLS TO ENABLE THE DESPATCH OF FOOD, MEDICAL, AND CLOTHING SUPPLIES TO THE AFFECTED REGIONS, AS WELL AS OF ITS DECISION TO GUARANTEE THE SECURITY OF MEMBERS OF INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS ENTRUSTED WITH THE TASKS OF TRANSPORTING AND DISTRIBUTING THESE SUPPLIES;

1. REQUESTS THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO IMPLEMENT WITHOUT DELAY ITS DECISION TO ESTABLISH A "MERCY" CORRIDOR WITH APPROPRIATE COLLECTING POINTS TO FACILITATE THE TRANSPORTATION OF ESSENTIAL FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO THE AFFECTED AREAS; TO GUARANTEE THE SAFETY OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT OF THE AGENTS OF INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN FEDERAL CONTROLLED TERRITORY SO AS TO ENSURE THE EFFECTIVE DISTRIBUTION OF THESE SUPPLIES TO THE NEEDY CIVILIAN POPULATION IN THE AFFECTED AREAS; AND ALSO TO GUARANTEE THE SAFETY AND SECURITY OF OBSERVERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF INTERNATIONAL RELIEF AGENCIES WHO SHALL INSPECT SUPPLIES AT SUCH COLLECTING POINTS;

2. APPEALS TO THE SECESSIONISTS TO COOPERATE BY ACCEPTING RELIEF SUPPLIES OF FOOD, MEDICINE AND CLOTHING TRANSPORTED THROUGH THE "MERCY" CORRIDOR TO THE COLLECTING POINTS AND TO PROVIDE FACILITIES

TO ENSURE THE SAFETY AND FREE MOVEMENT OF THE PERSONNEL OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF AGENCIES AND GUARANTEE EFFECTIVE DISTRIBUTION TO THE NEEDY CIVILIAN POPULATION IN THE TERRITORY UNDER THEIR CONTROL,

3. THANKS THOSE GOVERNMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE SO FAR GIVEN ASSISTANCE FOR THEIR SYMPATHY AND GENEROSITY IN RELIEVING

THE SUFFERING OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION AND APPEALS TO THESE AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS TO ASSURE THE CONTINUATION OF THIS HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT.

4. URGENTLY APPEALS TO ALL MEMBER STATES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY TO ASSIST IN THIS MASSIVE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORT;

5. REQUESTS BOTH PARTIES, AS A MATTER OF URGENCY, TO RESUME PEACE TALKS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A FINAL SOLUTION OF THE CRISIS PREVAILING IN THEIR COUNTRY, WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF PRESERVING

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Date	10/5/05



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PAGE 03 NIAMEY 02119 201040Z

NIGERIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND TO GUARANTEE THE SECURITY OF ALL ITS INHABITANTS; THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA EXPRESSES ITS GRATIFICATION AT THE FACT THAT THE TWO PARTIES HAVE EACH AGREED TO RESUME PEACE TALKS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

6. DECIDES THAT THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE SHALL REMAIN AT THE DISPOSAL OF BOTH PARTIES TO HELP THEM IN THIS DIRECTION. THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE WILL REMAIN IN CONTACT WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA. COLONEL OJUKWU OR HIS ACCREDITED REPRESENTATIVES MAY AT ANY TIME CONTACT ANY OF THE MEMBER GOVERNMENTS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. END TEXT OF RESOLUTION.

BEGIN TEXT OF SPECIAL COMMUNIQUE

THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA ANNOUNCES WITH GREAT SATISFACTION THE FOLLOWING IMPORTANT DECISIONS:

1. THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND COLONEL OJUKWU HAVE EACH AGREED TO INITIATE FORTHWITH PRELIMINARY TALKS AT NIAMEY UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF PRESIDENT HAMANI DIORI WITH A VIEW TO THE RAPID RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE IN NIGERIA.

2. THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND COLONEL OJUKWU HAVE EACH AGREED TO RESUME PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IN ADDIS ABABA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE O.A.U. CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA. END TEXT OF SPECIAL COMMUNIQUE.  
RYAN

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By	MV NARA
Date	10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02120 201435Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, IGA 02, PC 04, SR 01,  
ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, SAH 02, RSR 01, 155 W

P R 201400Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2017  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCR  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NIAMEY 2120

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE - JULY 20 AS OF 1000

1. DIORI GAVE DIPLOMATIC CORPS QUICK BRIEFING CONFERENCE JUST PRIOR TO ANKRAH'S DEPARTURE LAST NIGHT. BOTH DIORI AND ANKRAH PLEASED WITH CONFERENCE RESULTS AND APPEAR CONFIDENT THAT WAY FOUND GET TWO SIDES TALKING WITHOUT CONDITIONS. DIORI SAID HE BELIEVES ARRANGEMENTS ON CORRIDORS AND SHIPMENT RELIEF SUPPLIES CAN BE WORKED OUT BY TWO DELEGATIONS MEETING IN NIAMEY. DIORI SAID OJUKWU MADE FAVORABLE IMPRESSION ON MEMBERS COMMITTEE.

2. OJUKWU LEFT NIAMEY LAST NIGHT ABOUT 1930. REPORTEDLY CONSIDERED THIS "BELLIGERENT TERRITORY" HENCE DID NOT WANT STAY ALL NIGHT. EMPEROR LEFT THIS MORNING. TUBMAN EXPECTED LEAVE THIS AFTERNOON.

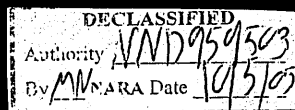
3. SOME CONFUSION THIS MORNING ON PRESENCE BIAFRAN

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02120 201435Z

DELEGATION. AT LEAST PART OF OUUKWU'S DELEGATION  
MAY HAVE STAYED TO START PRELIMINARY TALKS WITH  
NIGERIAN DELEGATION. ALSO A REPORT THAT A GABONESE  
PLANE ARRIVED THIS MORNING WITH MORE BIAFRANS.  
RYAN

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27 BIAFRA -  
Department of State NIGERIA  
**TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02108 191329Z

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ACTION: AFI 15

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, SA 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, PC 04,

RSR 01, 142, W

PER 191030Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2009  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

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SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

1. SINCE YESTERDAY AFTERNOON THE CENTER OF ACTIVITY FOR THE OAU MEETING HAS BEEN THE AIRPORT INSTEAD OF THE PALACE. AHIDUO LEFT AFTERNOON OF 18TH TO ATTEND MEETING IN CAMEROON. IN HIS DEPARTURE STATEMENT HE SAID WOULD RETURN TO NIAMEY IF NECESSARY. CONGOLESE DELEGATION LED BY VICE MINISTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS LEFT AT SAME TIME BECAUSE OF URGENT BUSINESS AT HOME. ALSO STATED TO PRESS THEY WOULD RETURN NIAMEY IF NECESSARY PERHAPS WITH MOBUTU AS HEAD OF DELEGATION. AWOLOWO AND PART OF NIGERIAN DELEGATION LEFT EVENING 18TH.

AT SEVEN O'CLOCK LAST EVENING JUST AS BBC BROADCASTING

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TELEGRAM<sup>23</sup>

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PAGE 02: NIAMEY 02108: 191329Z

REPORT THAT OUUKWUI COMING WITH SIX-MAN DELEGATION ON SATURDAY. APP NIAMEY HAD OFFICIAL WORD FROM DIORI THAT BIAFRAN DELEGATE ARRIVING IN HALF HOUR AND OUUKWUI FOLLOWING NEXT MORNING. MOST REPORTERS ALREADY AT AIRPORT SEE NIGERIAN DELEGATION LEAVE BUT WERE KEPT AT GREAT DISTANCE FROM HOUPHOUET'S JET WHEN IT LANDED AND PASSENGERS GOT OFF. SPECULATION REIGNED ALL EVENING ABOUT WHAT BIAFRAN AND HOW MANY.

FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIAL HAS CONFIRMED TO AMBASSADOR THIS MORNING'S APP REPORT THAT ONE BIAFRAN DELEGATE ARRIVED (NO ONE SEEMS WILLING OR ABLE GIVE NAME) LAST NIGHT ACCOMPANIED BY GABONESE MINISTER PIERRE MEBALEY. FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIAL SAID MOBUTU EXPECTED LATE THIS MORNING OR EARLY THIS AFTERNOON ACCOMPANIED BY FOUR BIAFRANS (HOUPHOUET'S JET LEFT IMMEDIATELY AFTER DEPOSITING PASSENGERS; PRESS REPORTS SAY IT WENT BACK TO LIBREVILLE).

2. ALGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOUTEFLIKA LEFT EVENING 18TH TO RETURN HOME. IN HIS DEPARTURE STATEMENT HE SAID HE HAD TWO MEETINGS WITH DIORI AND CONFERRED WITH HEADS ALL DELEGATIONS ON PROBLEMS CONCERNING OAU SUMMIT MEETING. RYAN

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05



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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02109 191346Z

44.

ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03,

RSR 01, /141 W

P R 191040Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2010  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

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SUB: OAU CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

NYT CORRESPONDENT FREIDNLY JR. SAYS ACCORDING HIS  
SOUNDINGS AMONG DELEGATIONS AT PALACE, COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS  
ON RELIEF SUPPLIES TO BIAFRA APPROVED ON 17TH. NOW  
SUPPOSED TO BE RELEASED PRESS THIS EVENING AT SIX O'CLOCK.  
HIS INFORMATION CONTINUES CONFIRM EARLIER IMPRESSION THAT  
GHANAIAN PROPOSAL FOR DEMILITARIZED ZONE LARGELY SCUTTLED.

COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES YESTERDAY, ACCORDING FREINDLY,  
CENTERED AROUND DIORI'S COMMUNICATIONS WITH BIAFRAN  
REPRESENTATIVES LIBREVILLE. FRIENDLY HAS ALSO HEARD THAT  
OUUKWU MAY BE ACCOMPANIED BY IVORY COAST AND GABONESE  
FOREIGN MINISTERS.

RYAN

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7-19-68*

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 01082 191351Z

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ACTION: AF 15

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,

SCA 02, AID 28, RSR 01, HEW 07, 154 W

P 191050Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1614  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJANI PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMCONSUL IBADANI  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
CINCSRIKE/CINCMCAFSA  
DIA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 1082

SUBJ: OJUKWU ONI PEACE TALKS AND RELIEF

1. REBEL RADIO BROADCAST RECORDING OF OJUKWU PRESS  
CONFERENCE AT 2010 GMT ON 18 JULY (FBIS ITEM N182045).

2. OJUKWU REITERATED CHARGE OF GENOCIDE AND EXPRESSED  
DISAPPOINTMENT AT WORLD'S INDIFFERENCE TOWARD BIAFRA,  
SUFFERING BUT PRAISED PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND UNSYG

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 01082 191351Z

THANT FOR RECENT STATEMENTS OF CONCERN.

3. OJUKWU SAID SPECIFICALLY AIM OF PRESS CONFERENCE WAS TO RESTATE HIS POSITION ON QUESTION RELIEF SUPPLIES AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF CONFLICT.

4. ON RELIEF SUPPLIES, OJUKWU FIRST RESTATED OBJECTIONS TO RELIEF THROUGH NIGERIA, CLAIMING OPEN LAND CORRIDOR WOULD ALLOW FEDERAL TROOPS PENETRATE BIAFRA. REPEATED FEAR OF POISONING BY LAGOS. HE THEN SUGGESTED RELIEF BY AIR SHOULD BE SUPPLEMENTED BY SUPPLIES CHanneled THROUGH RIVER NIGER OR THAT AREAS OF PORT HARCOURT SHOULD BE DEMILITARIZED FOR PURPOSE OF SENDING IN RELIEF MATERIAL. (COMMENT: THIS IS FIRST SIGN OF "GIVE" WE HAVE DETECTED IN HERETOFORE RIGID OJUKWU POSITION. WE ARE STILL WITHOUT DETAILS OF WHAT OJUKWU SAID ABOUT EITHER USE OF RIVER TRANSPORT OR HOW PORT HARCOURT COULD BE "DEMILITARIZED." SUPPLIES WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE TO MOVE ONWARD BY SOME MEANS FROM PH.)

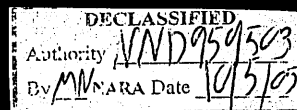
5. CONCERNING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, OJUKWU AGAIN REITERATED PREVIOUS CONDITIONS WHICH INCLUDE CEASE-FIRE, REMOVAL OF "BLOCKADE" AND PLEBISCITE IN MINORITY AREAS OF FORMER EASTERN REGION. FBIS SUMMARY QUOTES OJUKWU AS SAYING QTE PROVIDING THERE IS A CEASE-FIRE, I AM PREPARED TO MEET GOWON ANYWHERE FOR PEACE TALKS, OTHERWISE, ALL BIAFRANS WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT UNTIL RECOGNITION RECEIVED. UNQTE (COMMENT: EMBASSY AWARE WIRE SERVICES AND BBC HAVE CARRIED STORIES THAT OJUKWU HAS DEFINITELY AGREED GO TO NIAMEY. LOCAL PAPERS AND REUTERS SAY BIAFRAN DELEGATION HAS ARRIVED IN NIAMEY, BUT AS YET WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION FROM REBEL RADIO ITSELF CONCERNING DEL OR OJUKWU TRAVEL.)

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02118 221655Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, PC 04, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, ACDA 16,

SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, SAH 02, RSR 01, /153 W  
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O 191845Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2015  
RUDSC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 67  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY KINSASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 115  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS NIAMEY 2118

MICROFILMED BY RS/B  
SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING: SITREP  
JULY 19 1930

CONFERENCE SPOKESMAN DIALLO TELT READ FINAL CONFERENCE  
COMMUNIQUE TO NEWS MEN THIS EVENING. FULL TEXT WILL BE  
OBTAINED LATER. FOLLOWING ACCOUNT BASED ON NOTES TAKEN BY  
VOA CORRESPONDENT KELLY:

1. FEDERAL NIGERIA AND BIAFRAN HAVE AGREED HOLD PRELIMINARY  
TALKS IN NIAMEY UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP DIORI AS SOON AS  
POSSIBLE. THESE TALKS EXPECT TO LEAD TO MORE DETAILED  
TALKS AT ADDIS ABABA UNDER AUSPICES OF OAU CONSULTATIVE  
COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA.

2. COMMUNIQUE CALLS UPON FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO IMPLEMENT  
WITHOUT DELAY ITS DECISION TO ESTABLISH MERCY CORRIDOR FOR  
MOVEMENT FOOD, MEDICINE, AND CLOTHING TO WAR VICTIMS.  
ALSO ASKS FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO GUARANTEE FREEDOM OF

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02118 221655Z

OVEMENT AND PERSONAL SECURITY REPRESENTATIVES OF INTERNATIONAL RELIEF AGENCIES WORKING IN AREAS UNDER FEDERAL CONTROL.

3. COMMUNIQUE ASKS BIAFRA TO COOPERATE WITH RELIEF EFFORTS BY ACCEPTING SUPPLIES SENT THROUGH MERCY CORRIDOR AND TO PROVIDE FOR SAFETY OF INTERNATIONAL RELIEF AGENCY PERSONNEL WORKING IN AREAS UNDER BIAFRAN CONTROL.

4. COMMUNIQUE CALLS UPON BOTH SIDES AS MATTER OF URGENCY TO RESUME PEACE TALKS WITH OBJECTIVE OF GUARANTEEING NIGERIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AS WELL AS SECURITY OF ALL ITS INHABITANTS.

TELLI EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH OUTCOME OF TALKS. SAID COMMITTEE MEMBERS "DEEPLY SATISFIED", PARTICULARLY OVER AGREEMENT BOTH SIDES HOLD PRELIMINARY TALKS NIAMEY.

MEETING IS OVER. ANKRAH LEFT NIAMEY AROUND 1900. TRAVEL PLANS OF OTHER DELEGATIONS NOT YET KNOWN. RYAN

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By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION		
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L	FBO	AID
AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
ARMY	CIA	NAVY
OSD	USIA	NSA
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO: LAGOS, LONDON

FROM : Amembassy MOSCOW

DATE: July 19, 1968

SUBJECT: Two Soviets Protest About Nigerian War

REF :

Two demonstrators appeared at the British Embassy on July 16 bearing placards which said "Gowon Kills Children" and "Wilson, Stop Supplying Arms to Gowon." The demonstrators presented to a British Embassy officer a memorandum criticizing the UK Government for announcing its readiness to supply food to hungry Biafrans while providing arms to Lagos. They also distributed copies of their memorandum to bystanders, including some eight or ten journalists whom they apparently had alerted by telephone before beginning their demonstration.

The British have given us a copy of the protest memorandum which is attached along with a rough translation. — 1 copy Encl 2  
— not Encl 1

The demonstrators, who had signed the memorandum they presented, were Andrei Amalryk and his wife Gyuzel. This couple is rather well known to the diplomatic community, and in fact, the Embassy Security officer has only recently submitted to the Department biographic data on them.

An interesting penultimate sentence in the memorandum makes an "indirect reproach" to all governments providing arms to Nigeria for "fratricidal war". While Soviet media have never, to our knowledge, informed the Soviet population that the USSR has shipped arms to Lagos, it seems unlikely that the Amalryk couple would be totally unaware of these shipments, especially since Western media have mentioned the shipments and since the Amalryks seem to be in frequent contact with foreigners. In any event, the British say that the militiamen guarding their Embassy seemed genuinely surprised and nonplussed by the demonstration. Although we assume that practically all demonstrations here are officially inspired, this one may well have been an exception - a bona fide protest by individuals.

Enclosure: As stated THOMPSON

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Drafted by: POL/EXT:ACDavis:js

Contents and Classification Approved by:

POL:JWTratt

Clearances: POL:AAK:lovky

MIN:ECSwank

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Authority VND954503  
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/03

Enclosure<sup>1</sup> to  
A-1619 from Moscow

Three Thousand Children Die Daily of Hunger  
in the Republic of Biafra

The reasons for this are--the blockade and the war launched against Biafra by the Federal Government of Nigeria, which is headed by General Gowon. The Government of Great Britain states its readiness to help the starving population of Biafra, but at the same time continues to supply Gowon with arms for the continuation of the war. This position seems to us hypocritical: one must not save lives with one hand and sow death with the other. This deserves condemnation especially because Great Britain, as a result of its former colonial policy and arbitrary establishment of African boundaries bears great responsibility for the present war in Nigeria. By protesting against the two-faced position of Wilson's Government, we thereby also wish to make an indirect reproach to all governments providing arms to Nigeria for fratricidal war. Although we give to our protest a deeply personal character, we hope that many Soviet citizens share our concern.

Signed:

Guzel Amalrik, artist  
Andre Amalrik, journalist  
Moscow  
Vaktangova Street  
Apartment No. 5

0109

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Encl 2 Moscow #1619 EV  
7-19-68 RSR

ЕЖЕДНЕВНО В РЕСПУБЛИКЕ БИАФРА УМИРАЮТ ОТ ГОЛОДА 3000 ДЕТЕЙ.  
ВИНОЙ ЭТОМУ - БЛОКАДА И ВОЙНА, НАЧАТАЯ ПРОТИВ БИАФРЫ ФЕДЕ-  
РАЛЬНЫМ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВОМ НИГЕРИИ ВО ГЛАВЕ С ГЕНЕРАЛОМ ГОВОНОМ.  
ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВО ВЕЛИКОБРИТАНИИ ЗАЯВЛЯЕТ О СВОЕЙ ГОТОВНОСТИ  
ПОМОЧЬ ГОЛОДАЮЩЕМУ НАСЕЛЕНИЮ БИАФРЫ, НО ОДНОВРЕМЕННО ПРОДОЛ-  
ЖАЕТ СНАБЖАТЬ ГОВОНА ОРУЖИЕМ ДЛЯ ПРОДОЛЖЕНИЯ ВОЙНЫ. НАМ  
КАЖЕТСЯ ЛИЦЕМЕРНОЙ ЭТА ПОЗИЦИЯ: НЕЛЬЗЯ ОДНОЙ РУКОЙ СПАСАТЬ  
ЖИЗНИ, А ДРУГОЙ СЕЯТЬ СМЕРТЬ. ЭТО ТЕМ БОЛЕЕ ЗАСЛУЖИВАЕТ  
ОСУЖДЕНИЯ, ЧТО ВЕЛИКОБРИТАНИЯ ИЗ-ЗА СВОЕЙ ПРОШЛОЙ КОЛОНИАЛЬ-  
НОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ И ПРОИЗВОЛЬНОГО УСТАНОВЛЕНИЯ АФРИКАНСКИХ ГРАНИЦ  
НЕСЕТ БОЛЬШУЮ ДОЛЮ ОТВЕТСТВЕННОСТИ ЗА ИДУЩУЮ СЕЙЧАС В НИГЕРИИ  
ВОЙНУ. ПРОТЕСТУЯ ПРОТИВ ДВОЙСТВЕННОЙ ПОЗИЦИИ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВА  
ВИЛЬСОНА, МЫ ТЕМ САМЫМ ХОТИМ ТАКЖЕ СДЕЛАТЬ КОСВЕННЫЙ УПРЕК  
ВОЕМ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВАМ, ПОСТАВЛЯЮЩИМ ОРУЖИЕ В НИГЕРИЮ ДЛЯ БРАТО-  
УБИЙСТВЕННОЙ ВОЙНЫ. ХОТЯ МЫ ПРИДАЕМ НАШЕМУ ПРОТЕСТУ ГЛУБОКО  
ЛИЧНЫЙ ХАРАКТЕР, МЫ НАДЕЕМСЯ, ЧТО МНОГИЕ СОВЕТСКИЕ ГРАЖДАНЕ  
РАЗДЕЛЯЮТ НАШЕ БЕСПОКОЙСТВО.

Гузель Амальрик, художница  
А. Амальрик, Андрей Амальрик, журналист

Москва, ул. Вахтангова,  
дом 5, квартира 5

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By MVA Date 10/3/05

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Attention Mrs. Mullett  
Keep this study together.

July 19, 1968

10258  
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DECLASSIFICATION DATE 6/14/76  
PER Joe Flaherty OFFICE AF/W  
FADRC FOI CASE NO. 620370-Howe

COPIES TO:  
S/S:RF  
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AFW  
AID

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WALT W. ROSTOW  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Nigerian Relief

Since my previous memorandum of July 5, the political impasse over relief has not been overcome. Biafran intransigence has become more evident, a fact that the press has recently been emphasizing. The Federal Military Government (FMG) announced plans July 12 to establish a corridor for relief supplies through Federal lines along the front south of Enugu. Biafra has rejected the plan, charging that the relief corridor would simply provide an avenue for advancing Federal troops. The ICRC has also not persuaded the Biafrans to accept complete ICRC control of a Biafran airstrip for exclusive use of relief supplies, a plan which the FMG has privately approved.

Meanwhile a few ICRC flights continue at night from the Spanish island of Fernando Po, where an estimated 2000 tons of relief supplies have been stockpiled. Because of the absence of other airlines willing to make the hazardous flights into Biafra, the ICRC has been forced to charter planes from Henry Warton, an American citizen, who is widely known to be Biafra's only gun runner. In engaging Warton, the ICRC is risking its good relations with the FMG, which has long feared that ICRC flights might provide an opportunity for gun-running. To complicate matters the ICRC has now asked the U.S. to authorize the export of a C-46, a type of aircraft on the munitions list, which Warton is reportedly buying for relief runs. Although it may compound the delicacy of our relations with the FMG, we are not planning to interpose any objections to the issuance of the required authorizations by the Office of Munitions Control, in view of the ICRC appeal and the desperate need for continuing flights into Biafra.

In the

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AFW: BM MEL BOURNE; DF SMITH: emk  
7/18/68

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XK 50  
BIAFRA- NIGERIA  
10 BIAFRA

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By MM Date 10/5/05

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- 2 -

In the areas under Federal control in the East there are an estimated 250,000 desperately needy people. Food and clothing stocks in Lagos or en route to Nigeria appear roughly adequate for the immediate future, except for a relatively few medical items. The most serious problems are logistical. The Federal Government has expressed its willingness to use its resources in the transportation of relief supplies, but its resources are meager. In addition the condition of roads and bridges in Nigeria is poor. The UK is providing at least 25 trucks, but the ICRC could use another 25 as a minimum. The ICRC also needs a light plane for transporting of relief personnel around Nigeria and 2 helicopters for cargo transport. We have asked that the ICRC investigate the possibilities of private charter. However, the Defense Department as a last resort has indicated that a C-123 aircraft, a helicopter, and an LST for coastal transport could possibly be made available for use in Nigeria if emergency relief funding could be provided. We have asked our Embassy in Lagos for its recommendation, if charter arrangements cannot be made. We are continuing our search for additional means of reducing the transport problem.

The U.S. contribution to Nigerian relief, including donations of \$2 million from private sources, has now reached \$5.6 million, including a USG donation of 5000 tons of food worth \$1.3 million to UNICEF which was approved on July 12. In addition Secretary Rusk has informed the ICRC that the U.S. is providing a reserve of \$1 million for that body to draw on in meeting Nigerian relief needs. This contribution should be particularly useful in giving the ICRC flexibility to procure vehicles, charter ships, and purchase other equipment for rapid deployment to the areas of need.

In the hope of breaking the political logjam, we approached the governments comprising the Consultative Committee on Nigeria of the OAU, urging that they take up the relief problem, especially the Biafran attitude toward a relief corridor, at their current meeting in Niger. This question, together with the more general problem of ending the war, is now under discussion. The Biafrans have accepted an invitation to send a delegation to Niger, and the member countries are attempting to expedite their arrival. In addition we have asked the four countries which have recognized Biafra (Tanzania, Gabon, Ivory Coast, and Zambia) to urge the rebels to accept an overland relief corridor. We have urged the French to weigh in with Gabon and Ivory Coast as well. There are indications that the French are doing so.

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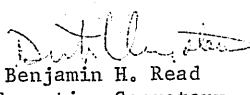
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By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05

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- 3 -

The implementation of an effective relief program in a country as underdeveloped as Nigeria is an enormous enterprise. The ICRC is still seeking to expand its organization to carry out such a program, and is working with foreign governments and private agencies to do this. Its work also requires careful coordination with the FMG. It will encounter continual transportation and communications problems and will have difficulty in prodding the FMG bureaucracy into helpful action. At the same time with protests rising in Nigeria over the extent of foreign involvement in relief, the ICRC has to avoid the appearance of pushing the FMG too hard. If the domestic reaction to foreign involvement in relief becomes too strong, not only will the relief program be jeopardized but the position of General Gowon, the only man who at the moment appears capable of governing the country, will be severely weakened.

  
Benjamin H. Read  
Executive Secretary

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AFW:RM Melbourne:DFS Smith:emb  
7/18/63

AF - Mr. Quinby

AID/AFR/CWA - Mr. North (substance)  
AID/PER/ PRDS - Mr. Street

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By	MN NARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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PAGE 01 ABIDJA 03778 191440Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 02, NSA 02, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20,

USIA 12, NIC 04, RSR 01, SA 01, SAH 02, /159 W

P 191100Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2712  
INFO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

CONFIDENTIAL ABIDJAN 3778

1. TODAY'S PDCI'S SEMI-OFFICIAL FRATERNITE COMMENTS PESSIMISTICALLY ON GOWON'S RETURN TO LAGOS IN EDITORIAL HEADLINED "NO OUKWU-GOWON FACE-TO-FACE MEETING". EDITORIAL SAYS IT MUST BE SUPPOSED LAGOS MAINTAINS POSITION THAT CEASE FIRE CAN ONLY FOLLOW BIAFRA UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER BEFORE LEAVING NIAMEY. GOWON REJECTED ALL RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY OAU COMMITTEE FOR DEMILITARIZED ZONE AND INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE. LAGOS WANTS DIALOGUE BUT REFUSES WHAT IT CALLS TERRITORIAL VIOLATION. IN THIS LIGHT, EDITORIAL CONCLUDES IT HARD TO SEE HOW WORK OF OAU COMMITTEE CAN LEAD TO POSITIVE SOLUTION.

2. FORMER OFFICIAL IN CHARGE AFRICAN AFFAIRS (ADUKO) TOLD US, BEFORE NEWS GOWON'S DEPARTURE, HE CERTAIN OUKWU WOULD GO TO NIAMEY FOR FACE-TO-FACE MEETING WITH GOWON AND OAU COMMITTEE AND THAT LAND OR SEA CORRIDOR ACCEPTABLE PROVIDED ICRC WHOLLY IN CONTROL RELIEF OPERATIONS. OPTIMISTICALLY, ADUKO SAID THAT WITH RELIEF PROBLEM PRACTICALLY OUT OF THE WAY, CONFERENCE WAS LOOKED TO MAINLY AS MEANS INITIATING DISCUSSION.

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 ABIDJA 03778 191440Z

BOTH SIDES ON CEASEFIRE AND POLITICAL SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ENO AND BIAFRA. WITH REGARD TO LATTER, ADUHO STUCK ADAMANTLY TO POSITION LAID DOWN BY HOUPHOUET THAT ONLY BY NOW SEPARATING BIAFRA FROM REST OF NIGERIA WOULD THERE BE ANY HOPE THE TWO COULD EVENTUALLY BE BROUGHT BACK TOGETHER.

3. TONE OF FRATERNITE EDITORIAL NO RPT NO DOUBT REFLECTS IMPORTANCE GOIC ATTACHES TO PERSONAL EXCHANGE AT NIAMEY BETWEEN LEADERS ON BOTH SIDES NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR AS FIRST STEP TOWARD DIALOGUE AND "AFRICAN SOLUTION" TO CONFLICT.

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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RS/R

July 19, 1968

The Honorable  
Barratt O'Hara, Chairman  
Subcommittee on Africa  
Committee on Foreign Affairs  
House of Representatives

Dear Mr. Chairman:

We are enclosing herewith a transcript of the executive session hearing before your Committee on Thursday, July 11, 1968, at which Mr. Roy M. Melbourne of the Bureau of African Affairs of the Department of State gave a briefing on the situation in Nigeria and Biafra.

Minor grammatical and factual corrections have been made in the transcript. It is the Department's understanding that the Committee does not plan to publish it. In the event you should decide to do so, we would appreciate an opportunity to further review the transcript for possible deletion of sensitive material.

Please be sure to let me know if we may be of any further assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

William B. Macomber, Jr.  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations

Enclosure:

As stated.

H:BMCarson

Clearances: AFW - Mr. Melbourne  
H - Mr. Leahy

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By MNARA Date 10/5/95

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Orig. —



ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

TO: Mr. Melbourne - AFW

FROM: H - Beatrice M. Carson, Rm. 7247A, Ext. 3594

SUBJECT: Transcript of Congressional Hearing

Attached for review and correction by appropriate officers is the transcript of a hearing held July 11, 1968 before the House Subcommittee on Africa Committee on the following subject:

Situation in Nigeria and Biafra

Any material requested by the Committee should be inserted at the point in the transcript where called for.

It is anticipated that the transcript ~~will~~ (will not) be published.

When the transcript has been cleared, it should be returned immediately to this office for final review and transmittal to the Committee. In order to meet the Committee's deadline, we will need to have the transcript in hand by July 17, 1968.

Transcript Reviewed by (please sign below)

Date

R Melbourne

7/17

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BIAFRA - NIGERIA

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POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA  
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
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PAGE 01 YAOUNDE 01842 191158Z

43:  
ACTION: AFI 15

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 02, SCS 04, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM

HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA

RSR 01, AID 28, 147 W

P. 190910Z JUL 68

FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

TO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA LGWI

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

SECSTATE WASHDC 2241

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REF: YAOUNDE 1837

POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA  
 XR POL 7 BIAFRA

1. CAMEROONIAN PRESS BULLETIN MORNING 19 JULY 1968 NOTED PRESIDENT AHIDJO LEFT NIAMEY ON 18 JULY 1968 FOR GAROUA, WHERE WAS TO PARTICIPATE IN UNIDENTIFIED MEETING, AND THAT BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FROM NIAMEY, HE NOTED A BIAFRAN DELEGATION WOULD ARRIVE NIAMEY.

2. 1915 HOURS 18 JULY 1968, EMBOFFI WAS TOLD BY SOURCE AT YAOUNDE AIRPORT THAT PLANE WHICH HAD BROUGHT AHIDJO FROM NIAMEY TO GAROUA WAS AT THAT MOMENT AT YAOUNDE AIRPORT AND WOULD SOON DEPART FOR DOUALA. SOURCE DID NOT KNOW WHY PLANE WAS HEADED FOR DOUALA, BUT IT POSSIBLE THAT PLANE WILL PICK UP BIAFRAN DELEGATION FOR TRANSPORT TO NIAMEY.  
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 By MNARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR POL 7 ALG  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02112 191725Z

45  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, PC 04, IO 13, RSR 01, 141 W

P 191530Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2011  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 2112

LONDON PLEASE PASS FOREIGN OFFICE

FRENCH AMBASSADOR TOLD BRITISH CHARGE IN CONVERSATION THIS MORNING THAT DIORI LIVID AT ARRIVAL OF ALGERIAN FONMIN BOUTEFLIKA CALLING HIM "HAIR IN SOUP". APPEARANCE OF BOUTEFLIKA APPARENTLY TOTALLY UNEXPECTED AND UPSET DIORI AND OTHER CHIEFS OF DELEGATIONS CONSIDERABLY. ACCORDING FRENCH AMBASSADOR, THEY BELIEVE STATEMENT BY BOUTEFLIKA THAT PURPOSE HIS VISIT TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS FOR FORTHCOMING OAU SUMMIT IS EYEWASH. INSTEAD, THEY FEEL HIS SUDDEN APPEARANCE WITHOUT INVITATION WAS ALGERIAN WAY OF GIVING NOTICE OF ALGERIAN INTEREST.

GP-3: RYAN

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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PAGE 01 KADUNA 01179 191842Z

53:  
ACTION: AF 15:

INFO: NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,  
RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, ACDA 16, IO 13, AID 28, PC 04, SR 01,  
ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, SAH 02, EUR 15, RSRI 01, /171 W

R 191400Z JUL 68  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 806  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY 44

UNCLAS KADUNA 1179

JULY 19 NEW NIGERIAN IN ARTICLE BY CORRESPONDENT  
MIKE PEARSE REPORTS THAT OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE  
WAS REJECTED SIX-POINT PROPOSAL TO SOLVE NIGERIAN  
CRISIS MADE BY GENERAL ANKRAH OF GHANA. ARTICLE SAYS  
"A COMPETENT SOURCE CLOSE TO THE MEETING" SAID PROPOSALS  
REJECTED BECAUSE THEY WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO FMG,  
ALTHOUGH FMG DELEGATE REPORTEDLY SAID FMG NOT "OFFICIALLY  
INFORMED" OF PROPOSALS. SUBSTANCE OF ALL SIX POINTS  
NOT REVEALED, BUT ONE SUGGESTION WAS TO USE ACCRA AIRPORT  
AS BASE FOR SUPPLY OF RELIEF MATERIALS. ANKRAH ALSO  
ALLEGEDLY "SUGGESTED TO COMMITTEE" THAT THERE BE  
UNCONDITIONAL CEASEFIRE BY FMG AND CREATION OF DEMILITARIZED  
ZONE TO BE PATROLLED BY OBSERVER FORCE FROM AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

STOKES.

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POK 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 PARIS 18206 182023Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SR 01, ORM 03,

SCA 02, SCS 04, AID 28, 149 W

R 181830Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4395  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL PARIS 18206

SUBJ: FRANCE AND BIAFRA

REF: PARIS 16666, PARIS 17941

1. EMBOFFI DISCUSSED PRESENT SITUATION NIGERIA JULY 17 WITH  
QUAI DESK OFFICER (PIERRET) IN LIGHT OF OJUKWU AGREEMENT COME  
TO NIAMEY AND OFFICIAL FRENCH CLARIFICATION OF ITS POSITION.

2. PIERRET SAID THAT FRENCH AMBASSADORS IN ABIDJAN AND LIBREVILLE  
HAD REPORTED ON JULY 14 AND 15 RESPECTIVELY THAT PRESIDENTS  
HOUPHOUZ AND BONGO WILL TAKE UP WITH BIAFRANS QUESTION OF  
ACCEPTING LAND CORRIDOR FOR RELIEF PURPOSES. (SEE REFTEL)  
NO WORD YET RECEIVED ON RESULTS THESE PLANNED DEMARCHES, OR IF  
THEY HAVE TAKEN PLACE. PRESUMABLY THIS SUBJECT WILL BE COVERED  
AT NIAMEY MEETING.

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EM GUAI PLEASED THAT OAU COMMITTEE IN NIAMEY HAS SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING AGREEMENT BOTH GOWON AND OJUKWU TO ATTEND. PIERRET UNWILLING SPECULATE ON POSSIBLE OUTCOME BUT NOTED THAT THERE ARE DOVES AS WELL AS HAWKS ON BIAFRA SIDE AND FMG SIDE. HE SINGLED OUT STATEMENT BY UWECHWE (PARIS 17794) AS INDICATIVE OF REASONABLE BIAFRAN LINE BUT SAID HE HAS BEEN UNABLE TO DETERMINE TO WHAT DEGREE UWECHUE SPEAKING FOR OJUKWU OR WHETHER HE MERELY GIVING OWN VIEWS.

4. CLARIFICATION OF OFFICIAL FRENCH POLICY CARRIED BY AFP JULY 16 AND EXPRESSES CONCERN OF FRENCH GOVT OVER "SERIOUS AND BLOODY QUARREL" WHICH IS, HOWEVER, "ESSENTIALLY AN AFRICAN PROBLEM." IN ORDER AVOID EXACERBATING PROBLEM, FRANCE BANNED IN JUNE 1967 ALL NEW ARMS CONTRACTS FOR EITHER SIDE. ON JUNE 12, 1968 IT DECIDED APPLY "TOTAL EMBARGO" COVERING CONTRACTS PLACED PRIOR TO JUNE 1967 (I.E. REMAINING PANHARD ARMORED CARS AND AMMUNITION FOR FMG). ON HUMANITARIAN SIDE, FRENCH GOVT HAS MADE AVAILABLE SOME RELIEF SUPPLIES TO FRENCH RED CROSS, WHICH IN TURN ARRANGED TO DELIVER THEM TO "BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES". (THIS TOOK PLACE VIA LIBREVILLE, WITH SOME DISPLEASURE FROM FMG BUT NO VIOLENT PROTEST, ACCORDING PIERRET). IN VIEW OF "CONSTANT DETERIORATION OF HEALTH SITUATION, THE GOVT HAS DECIDED TO INCREASE ITS ASSISTANCE EFFORT. IN LIAISON WITH FRENCH RED CROSS AND ICRC IT IS STUDYING MEANS OF PLACING SURGEONS, PUBLIC HEALTH AND OTHER MEDICAL PERSONNEL AT DISPOSITION OF BIAFRA. FRENCH GOVT IS FOLLOWING CLOSELY EVOLUTION OF SITUATION AND REMAINS PREPARED PARTICIPATE IN ANY INITIATIVE TO EASE SUFFERING OF POPULATION AND RESTORE PEACE."

5. IN REPLY TO QUESTION, PIERRET TOLD EMBOFF THAT FRANCE IS READY AND EAGER TO WORK WITH ICRC ON RELIEF SUPPLIES AND PERSONNEL FOR BIAFRA. THIS CHANGE IN PREVIOUS PROCEDURE OF DIRECT DELIVERY TO BIAFRA IS DUE TO APPARENTLY WORKABLE ARRANGEMENTS BEING ESTABLISHED BETWEEN ICRC AND FMG AND, HOPEFULLY, BIAFRA. HOWEVER, PIERRET NOTED AFP REPORT FROM BIAFRA TO EFFECT THAT REP OF WORLD COUNCIL CHURCHES THERE HAS SAID HE IS AUTHORIZED BY ICRC AND OTHER RELIEF GROUPS TO ARRANGE DIRECT DELIVERY OF SUPPLIES WITH BIAFRANS. IF THIS IS ICRC POSITION, PIERRET SAID, IT WILL OBVIOUSLY BE ACCEPTABLE TO FRANCE.

6. COMMENT: PUBLIC CLARIFICATION APPEARS TO BE DESIGNED SERVE TWO ENDS: DEMONSTRATE TO INCREASINGLY AROUSED FRENCH PUBLIC

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By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM** 45

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PAGE 03 PARIS 18206 182023Z

OPINION SOME FORWARD MOVEMENT BY FRENCH GOVT, AND PROCLAIM PUBLICLY STANDARE FRENCH LINE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS. EXCEPT FOR HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES. PRO-BIAFRA PROPAGANDA CONTENT OF CLARIFICATION IS MINIMAL AND ANNOUNCED WILLINGNESS WORK WITH ICRC IS STEP FORWARD, PROVIDED ICRC, FMG AND BIAFRA CAN WORK OUT AGREED AND EFFECTIVE PROCEDURES. GP-3 SHRIVER

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46.  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04,

HI 02, INRI 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USI 12

RSR 01, AID 28, 147 W

P 181500Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
TO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
RAMEUK/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 38

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
SECSTATE WASHDC 2237

C O N F I D E N T I A L YAOUNDE 1837 BIAFRA - NIGERIA  
REF: NIAMEY 2088 - POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA  
XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

RECEIVED BY RS/A

USUALLY RELIABLE SOURCE IN CAMEROONIAN GOVERNMENT REPORTED TO  
EMBOFF 18 JULY 1968 THAT PRESIDENT AHIDJO HAS ALERTED FOREIGN  
MINISTRY AND DEFENSE MINISTRY TO BE PREPARED MAKE PLANE AVAIL-  
ABLE TO BIAFRAN DELEGATION WISHING TO TRAVEL NIAMEY FROM BIAFRA.  
SOURCE DID NOT REPORT NOT KNOW WHERE PICKUP OF BIAFRANS WOULD BE,  
BUT PRESUMABLY WOULD BE TIKO OR MAMFE. AHIDJO ALSO NOTED THERE  
SHOULD BE NO INTERFERENCE WITH BIAFRANS COMING OVERLAND INTO  
CAMEROON. PAYTON

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7-18-68



POL 27 Biafra-Nigeria  
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XR DEF 12-5 Nigeria

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 08120 181830Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, ACDA 16, MC 01, AID 28, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100

INR 07, L 03, NSR 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, SR 01,

ORM 03, RSR 01, 160 W

R 181656Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6908  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME

RECORDED IN 12/3

POL 27 Biafra-Nigeria

XR DEF 12-5 Nigeria

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BRUSSELS 8120

SUBJ: ARMS TO NIGERIA - NEW BELGIAN LEGISLATION

REF: BRUSSELS 8046, 7848, 7413

1. AS REPORTED BRUSSELS 8046 FONMIN HARMEL HAS INTRODUCED IN PARLIAMENT LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD GIVE HIM AUTHORITY TO CANCEL OUTSTANDING LICENSES ISSUED FOR ARMS SHIPMENTS TO NIGERIA. PROPOSED LEGISLATION, WITH CLARIFYING AMENDMENT ACCEPTED BY HARMEL, WAS DEBATED IN SENATE YESTERDAY. BILL IS SCHEDULED TO BE DEBATED AND PASSED BY SENATE AND CHAMBER TODAY. PARLIAMENT SCHEDULED TO ADJOURN THIS EVENING.

2. PARLIAMENT AND PRESS HAVE SUBJECTED GOB TO SEVERE CRITICISM ON WAY IN WHICH SUBJECT OF ARMS SHIPMENTS HAS BEEN HANDLED. COMMENTS MAKE CLEAR THAT BELGIANS UNEASY ABOUT SHIPPING ARMS TO NIGERIA WHILE BIAFRANS, AS ONE PAPER PUT IT, ARE "STARVED AND BUTCHERED."

EXEMPT. KNIGHT

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 03972 180828Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 02, SR 01, ORM 03, IO 13, AID 28,

PC 04, RSR 01, 147 W

P 180741Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4673  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 3972

REFERENCE: DAR ES SALAAM 3942

WILL SEE PRESIDENT NYEERE ON SUBJECT OF BIAFRA TOMORROW  
MORNING JULY 19. RATHER LATE IN DAY BUT WOULD APPRE-  
CIATE BEING ADVISED ANY DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN NOW AND  
THEN WHICH MIGHT BEAR ON CONVERSATION.

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*See to Salomon 3972  
7-18-68*

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XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA<sup>23</sup>

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02095 181230Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, ORM 03, SR 01, AID 28, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 02, SA 01, CIAE 00,  
DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02.

SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 148 W

PIR 181030Z JULI 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2004  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
RUTAND/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 109

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NIAMEY 2095

LONDON TBNEI PASS FOREIGN OFFICE

SUBJ: DAU CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

1. CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE SPENT LONG, EXHAUSTING DAY  
JULY 17 TRYING TO WORK OUT RESOLUTION RELIEF SUPPLIES FOR  
BIAFRA. NIGER/CAMEROON/GHANA SUBCOMMITTEE WORKED ON GHANAIAN  
PROPOSAL DURING MORNING. DIALLO TELLI REPORTEDLY DISCUSSED  
IT WITH GOWON AT HIS VILLA DURING EARLY AFTERNOON. FULL  
DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GOWON AND THE COMMITTEE BEGAN AT FOUR  
O'CLOCK AT THE PALACE AND LASTED THROUGH WITHOUT A DINNER  
BREAK UNTIL ALMOST MIDNIGHT.

EVERYONE IMPRESSED WITH LONG HOURS. COMMITTEE DEVOTING  
ITS TASK, ESPECIALLY FACT DAILY SESSIONS HAVE LASTED UNTIL  
ALMOST MIDNIGHT WITH ONLY SHORT BREAKS FOR MEALS. DIORI  
HOSTED HOUR AND HALF COCKTAIL PARTY TUESDAY NIGHT ONLY.

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SOCIAL ACTIVITY OF CONFERENCE. CHIEFS OF STATE, ESPECIALLY  
EMPEROR AND TUBMAN, WERE OBVIOUSLY FATIGUED BY TIME.  
LAST NIGHT'S SESSION ADJOURNED.

2. ACCORDING VOA CORRESPONDENT KELLY AND NYT CORRESPONDENT  
FRIENDLY, JR., GHANIAN PROPOSAL CALLED FOR LIMITED TRUCE FOR  
PURPOSE OF SETTING UP DEMILITARIZED ZONE INTO WHICH ESSENTIAL  
SUPPLIES OF FOOD, CLOTHING AND MEDICAL EQUIPMENT COULD BE  
BROUGHT FOR BIAFRA. IT SUGGESTED THAT ZONE BE POLICED BY  
A FORCE COMPOSED OF SOLDIERS FROM NEUTRAL COUNTRIES. IT  
PROPOSED THAT NIGERIANS AND BIAFRANS AS WELL AS REPRESENTATIVES  
OF INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS INSPECT ALL RELIEF  
CONSIGNMENTS. IT ASKED THAT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT GUARANTEE AIR,  
LAND AND SEA CORRIDORS THROUGH FEDERALLY CONTROLLED TERRITORY.  
THE USE OF NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, GHANA AND CAMEROON, IN  
PARTICULAR, WAS PROPOSED FOR STAGING AREAS TO FORWARD RELIEF  
SUPPLIES.

GOWON SAID TO HAVE FORCED LONG MEETING INTO NIGHT BECAUSE  
OF HIS OBJECTIONS TO THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE ARRANGEMENT. HE  
SAID TO HAVE REFUSED CONSIDER ANY ARRANGEMENT INVOLVING CEASE  
FIRE WITHOUT BIAFRANS FIRST RENOUNCING SECESSION.

3. NO COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT END OF SESSION OF 17, BUT  
COMMITTEE SPOKESMAN DIALLO TELLE SAID IT WOULD BE ISSUED  
MORNING OF 18TH. (EMBASSY WILL FORWARD TEXT AS SOON AS  
RECEIVED). COMMUNIQUE SUPPOSED TO INCLUDE COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS  
ON RELIEF SUPPLIES AND GIVE OUTLOOK FOR POSSIBLE PEACE TALKS OF  
TWO SIDES.

MEMBER OF NIGERIAN DELEGATION TOLD VOA CORRESPONDENT KELLY  
THAT THE FINAL COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS WILL BE TONED DOWN  
TO FIT INTO FRAMEWORK OF GOWON'S POSITION AS OUTLINED IN  
SPEECH TO COMMITTEE ON 16TH. OTHER REPORTS TOO INDICATED  
THAT GOWON SUCCEEDED IN GETTING GHANIAN PROPOSAL SUBSTANTIALLY  
AMENDED.

4. GENERAL GOLON RETURNED LAGOS IMMEDIATELY AFTER SESSION  
BROKE UP LAST NIGHT AND WILL NOT BE RETURNING TODAY. HIS  
DELEGATION REMAINED BUT IS EXPECTED DEPART AS SOON AS  
COMMUNIQUE ISSUED THIS MORNING. THIS DEPARTURE WILL PERMIT  
BIAFRANS PRESENT THEIR CASE TO COMMITTEE ON ARRIVAL AS GOWON

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PAGE 03 NIAMEY 02095 181230Z

DID FMG CASE ON TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY. HOW LONG CONFERENCE WILL GO ON IS UNKNOWN SINCE MUCH DEPENDS WHEN BIAFRANS GET HERE AND DEVELOPMENTS THEREAFTER. AT THIS POINT CONFERENCE NOT LIKELY TO BREAK UP BEFORE AT LEAST SATURDAY.

5. WHILE MUCH SPECULATION OCCURRING IN CONFERENCE HALLS ABOUT WHEN BIAFRAN DELEGATION WILL ARRIVE AND WHETHER OUKWUI WILL APPEAR HIMSELF, THEIR ARRIVAL EXPECTED TODAY ON PLANE ARRANGED FOR BY COMMITTEE. NIGER OFFICIALS SEEM CONFIDENT OUKWUI WILL COME.

6. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE PUZZLEMENT AT CONFERENCE ON ANNOUNCEMENT THAT ALGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOUTEFLIKA ARRIVING THIS MORNING. AFP ALGIERS STORY SAID BOUTEFLIKA WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. AFP NIAMEY STORY SAYS BOUTEFLIKA WAS INVITED AND THAT CURRENT HYPOTHESIS ON PURPOSE IS PRESENCE OF CHIEFS OF STATE WILL PERMIT DISCUSSION NEXT OAU SUMMIT MEETING TO BE HELD ALGIERS.

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*XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02099 181908Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02,

AID 28, IO 13, RSR 01, /148 W

P 181610Z JULI 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2005  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

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CONFIDENTIAL NIAMEY 2099

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

PLEASE PASS: BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE AND APPROPRIATE MISSIONS.

1. BRITISH CHARGE (STATIONED ABIDJAN) HAD CONVERSATION WITH NIGERIAN CHARGE THIS MORNING WHICH CONFIRMS PRESS REPORTING OF GOWON'S STRONG OBJECTIONS TO GHANAIAN PROPOSAL ON RELIEF SUPPLIES. NIGERIAN CHARGE SAID GOWON IS DEAD SET AGAINST PRINCIPLE OF DEMILITARIZED ZONE AND USE OF INTERNATIONAL FORCE. CHARGE SAYS NIGERIA'S IDEA IS THAT AN INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS SECTION SHOULD SUPERVISE TRANSPORT THROUGH NIGERIA FROM PORT TO FRONT LINE. THEN ANOTHER ICRC SECTION COULD TAKE IT ON FROM THERE INTO BIAFRA. THIS METHOD NIGERIANS FEEL IS PERFECTLY ADEQUATE FOR OBVIATING BIAFRAN FEARS OF ANY TAMPERING WITH THE RELIEF SUPPLIES.

2. GOWON TOLD PRESS WHEN HE DEPARTED LAST NIGHT THAT

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*NIAMEY 2099  
7-18-68*

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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02099 181908Z

HE WOULD NOT BE COMING BACK TO NIAMEY DURING PRESENT MEETINGS. NIGERIAN CHARGE CONFIRMED THIS TO BRITISH CHARGE TODAY BUT HEDGED WHEN ASKED IF THIS MEANT GOWON WOULD NOT RETURN EVEN IF OUUKWU CAME TO NIAMEY AS INDICATED BY PRESS RUMORS.

3. CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MET THIS MORNING UNTIL NOON. MEETING WILL RESUME AT 4:00PM. THE PROMISED COMMUNIQUE HAS NOT BEEN RELEASED YET. COMMITTEE SPOKESMAN DIALLO TELLED CONFIDENT THIS MORNING'S COMMENTS TO CHASTIZING PRESS CORPS FOR PUBLICIZING TOO MUCH OF THE COMMITTEE DEBATES AND FOR OBTAINING UNAUTHORIZED INFORMATION FROM DELEGATION MEMBERS.

4. AHIDJO LEFT NIAMEY AT 3:00PM ON HOUPHOUET'S JET. ACCORDING REPORTS HE GOING DOUALA AND PLANE GOING ON TO LIBREVILLE TO PICK UP SIX-MAN BIAFRAN DELEGATION AND A GABONESE MINISTER. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT AHIDJO WILL RETURN TO NIAMEY SATURDAY. PART OF NIGERIAN DELEGATION ALSO LEFT THIS AFTERNOON AND EVENING. REST WILL REMAIN UNDER AT LEAST SATURDAY, ACCORDING NIGERIAN CHARGE.

5. IN HIS ARRIVAL STATEMENT THIS MORNING, ALGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOUTEFILKA SAID SLSAIVOSDYJO TO NIAMEY WAS FOR PURPOSE OF PREPARING FOR OAU SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN SEPTEMBER. SAID HE HAD PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENNE ADDRESSED TO ALL CHIEFS OF STATE IN NIAMEY. HE DECLINED TO SAY EXACTLY HOW LONG HE WOULD BE STAYING.

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POL 27 BIAFERA-NIGER

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PAGE 01 ALGIER 01927 181418Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H. 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P. 04

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SAH 02, AID 28, NIC 01, PC 15.

RSR 01, 157 W

R 181310Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3360  
INFO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY RABAT  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS

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GOA UNEXPECTEDLY ANNOUNCED THAT FONMIN BOUTEFLIKA DEPARTED FOR NIAMEY EARLY MORNING JULY 18. WAS ACCOMPANIED BY SIZEABLE DELEGATION INCLUDING MOULOUD KACEM, COUNSELLOR AT RESIDENCY AND LAYACHI YAKER, DIRECTOR OF ECONOMICS, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS AT FONOFF. ANNOUNCEMENT NOTES THAT BOUTEFLIKA WILL MEET WITH CHIEFS OF STATE ATTENDING MEETING OF OAU COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA.

THERE IS CONSIDERABLE LOCAL SPECULATION ON POSSIBILITY OF POOR ATTENDANCE AT OAU SUMMIT MEETING IN ALGIERS IN SEPTEMBER WITH SOME OBSERVERS BELIEVING MEETING MAY BE POSTPONED OR EVEN CANCELLED. GOA ALLEGEDLY CONCERNED THAT POOR ATTENDANCE WILL BE BLOW TO ITS PRESTIGE AND WE UNDERSTAND FROM OUR DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES THAT GOVERNMENT IS MAKING AN EFFORT TO ENSURE GOOD TURNOUT. BOUTEFLIKA HAS BEEN EXPECTED TO BEGIN A SWING THROUGH NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES FOR THIS PURPOSE AND IT IS PRESUMED THAT THE NIAMEY JAUNT IS IN THIS CONNECTION.  
MORIN

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By	MMNARA Date 10/5/05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SYSTEMATIC REVIEW WITHDRAWAL CARD NO. POL 50-28

DATE: 7/17/68 MSG NO.: 0307 TYPE: TE

FROM: USDAO LAGOS TO: DIA

SUBJECT: FMG/Eastern Mil Situation

DOCUMENT ORIGINATOR: DEPT. OF STATE: \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER: ☒

BASIS FOR WITHDRAWAL:

☒ CONTAINS NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

\_\_\_\_\_ OTHER LAW OR REGULATION

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 632

PAGE 01 LONDON 10914 172000Z

80

ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,SSO 00,1070 W

P 171710Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4858  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

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LIMDIS

FROM PALMER

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH KAUNDA: NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: STATE 20240 20204

1. I MET THIS MORNING (JULY 17) WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA FOR HALF HOUR AND URGED HIM TO ENCOURAGE OJUKWO TO ACCEPT LAND CORRIDOR FOR CHANNELING OF RELIEF SUPPLIES. I TOLD HIM THAT MY RECENT VISIT TO LAGOS INDICATED FMG WAS SHOWING MORE FLEXIBILITY AND I WAS CONVINCED GENERAL GOWON WAS DOING HIS BEST TO RESTRAIN HAWKS AND LIMIT UNNECESSARY SUFFERING. ICRC REPS IN GENEVA HAD AGREED THAT ONLY REALISTIC WAY TO MOVE SUPPLIES IN SUFFICIENT QUANTITIES WAS BY LAND. I HOPED KAUNDA FOR PURELY HUMANITARIAN REASONS WOULD SEEK TO PERSUADE OJUKWO THAT HE SHOULD COOPERATE WITH ICRC IN ESTABLISHING LAND CORRIDOR.

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2. KAUNDA LISTENED ATTENTIVELY AND SAID HE WOULD GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO MY PROPOSAL. BEFORE MAKING UP HIS MIND, HOWEVER, HE WISHED TO EXPLORE ENTIRE BIAFRAN PROBLEM FURTHER HERE. HE EXPECTED TO SEE BIAFRAN REPS IN LONDON BEFORE HE MET PRIMIN WILSON THIS EVENING AND HAD ALREADY DISCUSSED SITUATION WITH ANGLICAN CHURCH LEADERS. HE WAS FRANKLY DISTURBED, HE SAID, AT WHAT HE CONSIDERED "CONTRADICTIONS" OF BRITISH POLICY WHICH SUPPLIED ARMS WITH ONE HAND AND FOOD WITH ANOTHER. NOW HE UNDERSTOOD BRITISH WERE THINKING OF USING RAF PLANES FOR RELIEF SHIPMENTS. - "SAME PLANES THEY USE FOR TRANSPORTING ARMS". HE INTENDED EXPRESS HIS CONCERN TO WILSON, BUT HE HOPED VERY MUCH THAT CLOSE FRIENDS OF BRITAIN, ESPECIALLY US, WOULD USE INFLUENCE TO GET BRITISH TO RECONSIDER ARMS SUPPLY POLICY.

3. I REPLIED THAT WE THOUGHT NIGERINA CONFLICT WAS TERRIBLE TRAGEDY. WE HAD REFRAINED FROM SUPPLYING ARMS TO EITHER SIDE, PARTIALLY IN HOPES THIS WOULD DETER SOVIETS FROM STEPPING IN. REGRETTABLY THEY HAD COME IN ANYWAY. BRITISH POLICY OF SUPPLYING ARMS WAS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT MATTER SINCE UK WAS TRADITIONAL SUPPLIER TO NIGERIA. I THOUGHT IT WAS USEFUL FOR BRITISH TO HAVE LEVERAGE ON FMG THROUGH SUPPLY OF ARMS AND THAT BRITISH WERE IN GENERAL USING THEIR INFLUENCE EFFECTIVELY. FMG'S FLEXIBILITY IN RECENT MONTHS COULD IN PART BE TRACED TO BRITISH PRESSURE. I AGAIN EXPRESSED HOPE KAUNDA WOULD INFLUENCE OJUKWU TO SHOW MORE REALISM AND FLEXIBILITY THAN WE THOUGHT BIAFRANS HAD DISPLAYED RECENTLY. WE THEN TURNED TO DISCUSSION OF ZAMBIAN DEFENCE MATTERS. (BEING REPORTED BY SEPTEL).

4. COMMENT: KAUNDA NEATLY PUT BALL BACK IN MY COURT WHEN HE INTRODUCED SUBJECT OF BRITISH ARMS-SUPPLY POLICY. I CANNOT JUDGE TO WHAT EXTENT IF ANY HE MAY TRY TO BRING BIAFRANS AROUND ON QUESTION OF LAND CORRIDOR BUT I THINK THERE IS FIFTY-FIFTY CHANCE HE WILL AT LEAST ENCOURAGE THEM TO SHOW MORE TRUST IN RED CROSS.

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S/AL 1  
S/CPR 1  
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S/IL 1  
S/P 1  
S/R 1  
S/FW 1  
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M/WP 1  
G/PM 1  
G/DP 1

Geographic

AF5 5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

Functional

CU 2  
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INR 6  
IO 4  
L 2  
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OPR 1  
OC 1  
SY 1  
WLG 1  
P 2  
SCA 2  
SCS 2  
SCI 2

OTHER AGENCIES

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CIA 10  
DOD 10  
USIA 4  
NSA 4

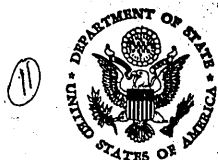
Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR2 2  
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AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

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COM 2  
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LAB 1  
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NIC 1  
STR 1  
TRANS 1  
TRSY 6  
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IRS 1  
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02077 171238Z

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ACTION: AFI 15

INFO: EUR 15, SA 01, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, PC 04,

RSR 01, 142, W

PLR 171030Z JULI 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1996  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

UNCLAS NIAMEY 2077

FULL TEXT OF OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIQUE  
ISSUED END OF DAY, JUNE 16, READS: "THE CONSULTATIVE  
COMMITTEE OF THE OAU HAS DECIDED TO INVITE COLONEL OJUKWU  
OR HIS QUALIFIED REPRESENTATIVES TO MEET WITH IT IN NIAMEY  
BY THURSDAY JULY 18 FOR A COMMON AND URGENT SEARCH OF A  
SATISFACTORY AFRICAN SOLUTION TO THE GRAVE NIGERIAN CRISIS."

COMMITTEE DEBATED FOUR HOURS AFTERNOON 16TH WITHOUT  
PRESENCE OF GENERAL GOWON. ACCORDING TO AFP ARTICLE,  
DIALLO TELLI SERVED AS GO-BETWEEN WITH GOWON AND GOWON  
"FINALLY ACCEPTED" TEXT OF COMMITTEE COMMUNIQUE BEFORE IT  
WAS MADE PUBLIC.

AFP TICKET LAGOS HAS JUST ANNOUNCED THAT GOVERNMENT  
OF BIAFRA HAS ACCEPTED INVITATION. THE ANNOUNCEMENT MADE  
OVER RADIO BIAFRA ADDED THAT BECAUSE OF TRANSPORT DIFFICULTIES  
THE BIAFRAN DELEGATION COULD NOT REACH NIAMEY BEFORE THE END  
OF THE WEEK.

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Authority VND 959503  
By MN/ARA Date 10/5/05



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM** <sup>23</sup>

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02077 171238Z

PLEASE PASS BRITISH EMBASSIES. LONDON PASS FOREIGN OFFICE.  
RYAN

UNCLASSIFIED

0138

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

(11)



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
XC DEF 12-5 NIGERIA

UNCLASSIFIED 873

PAGE 01 KADUNA 01172 170915Z

17

ACTION: AFI 15

INFO: NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAM 02, EUR 15, AID 28, IO 13, RSR 01,

141 W

RI 170800Z JUL 68:  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 805:  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS:  
AMCONSUL IBADAN:

UNCLAS: KADUNA 1172:

ACCORDING JULY 16, NEW NIGERIAN CHIEF AWOLowo MADE BRIEF  
STOP AT KADUNA AIRPORT JULY 15 ENROUTE NIAMEY. IN  
PRESS CONFERENCE HE REITERATED FMG STAND THAT THERE  
WOULD BE NO RPT NO CEASEFIRE UNTIL REBELS ACCEPTED  
CONCEPT ONE NIGERIA AND RENOUNCED SECESSION. HE  
EXPRESSED HOPE THAT OAU MISSION WOULD STICK TO PRINCIPLE  
KEEPING NIGERIA ONE AND STATED THAT AS FAR AS HE KNEW  
NO FOREIGN COUNTRY HAD INTERFERED IN CRISIS ADDING  
"AFTER ALL WE STILL BUY ARMS FROM BRITAIN."

STOKES.

RECEIVED BY RS/B

(2)

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0139

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Authority VND 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

Kaduna 1172  
9-17-68



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR POL 3 OAU  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 095

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02083 171213Z

45  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, SS 20, INR 07, SSO 00, CCO 00, RSR 01, RSC 01, NSCE 00, /059 W

O 171105Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2001  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

SECRET NIAMEY 2083

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

REF: NIAMEY 2050 - POL 3 OAU

FOLLOWING ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXT ANOTHER MESSAGE.  
PRESIDENT DIORI HAS ASKED ME TO TRANSMIT TO PRESIDENTS  
KUANDA AND NYERERE.

BEGIN TEXT:

WITH REFERENCE TO MY PREVIOUS TELEGRAM 312/DIRCAB  
JULY 15 1968 AN AFP SORTY COMING FROM LAGOS INDICATES  
TO-DAY THAT THE BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES ARE READY TO COME  
TO NIAMEY BUT BECAUSE OF COMMUNICATIONS DIFFICULTIES  
THEY CANNOT REACH NIAMEY BEFORE THE END OF THE WEEK.  
STOP - TO FACILITATE CONTACTS IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE  
TIME THE GOVERNMENT OF THE IVORY COAST HAS OFFERED TO  
PUT AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE BIAFRAN DELEGATION AN AIRCRAFT  
WHICH COULD GO IMMEDIATE TO LIBREVILLE OR DOUALA - STOP -  
I WOULD VERY MUCH APPRECIATE YOUR INFORMING ME OF THE PLACE  
CHOSEN FOR THIS OPERATION - STOP - PLEASE INFORM ABIDJAN  
TOO AND EITHER GABON OR CAMEROON - STOP - HIGHEST AND  
FRATERNAL CONSIDERATION - DIORI HAMANI - END TEXT

VIEW FACT REFTEL SENT LIBREVILLE AND ABIDJAN, ASSUME  
FRENCH TEXT OF MESSAGE SENT BY GON TO HOUPHOUET AND BONGO.

(2) BELIEVE ABOVE MESSAGE IS FURTHER EFFORT BY DIORI TO

SECRET

NIAMEY 2083  
7-17-68

RECEIVED BY 10/15

0140

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Authority VND954503  
By MNA Date 10/5/05



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02083 171213Z

USE FOUR PRESIDENTS TO OBTAIN FASTEST ANSWER POSSIBLE  
FROM BIAFRANS.

GP-3 RYAN

SECRET

0141

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/3/05





POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA 49

UNCLASSIFIED 768

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 00208 172210Z

80

ACTION: AF 15

INFO: EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 22, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 02,

ORM 03, SR 01, RSR 01, 147 W

PIR 171525Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2002  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
ACCRA 128  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
RUQSUC AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 97  
RUTAIN  
RFJC/AMEMBASSY PARIS 296  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

UNCLAS NIAMEY 2088

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

THE NEWS THAT BIAFRAN DELEGATION MAY COME TO MEETING  
WASMEQEP (#)  
ZYNELI PLANS FOR DELEGATIONS HERE WHO  
ORIGINALLY PLANNING LEAVE TODAY OR TOMORROW. SO FAR  
EMPEROR, ANKRAHI AND TUBMAN HAVE INDICATED THEY PLAN STAY  
FOR BIAFRAN ARRIVAL.

CONVERSATION IN PALACE CORRIDORS TODAY INDICATES  
THAT BECAUSE OF BIAFRAN TRANSPORT PROBLEMS TO NIAMEY,  
ARRANGEMENTS NOW BEING MADE TO SEND PLANE TO PICK UP  
DELEGATION IN A COUNTRY NEAR BIAFRA, POSSIBLY GABON OR  
CAMEROON.

MEETING AT PLALCE THIS MORNING SAID TO HAVE  
CONCENTRATED ON PLANS FOR RELIEF OF NIGERIAN WAR VICTIMS.  
A SUB-COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF GHANA, CAMEROON AND NIGER

UNCLASSIFIED

*7-17-68  
Niamey 2088*

*DECLASSIFIED BY 1006*

*2*

0142

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Authority VMD 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 NIAMEY 00208 172210Z

REPORTEDLY DISCUSSED A GHANAIAN PROPOSAL FOR USE OF LAND AND AIR CORRIDORS TO TRANSPORT RELIEF SUPPLIES. THE PROPOSAL MAY BE DISCUSSED THIS AFTERNOON WITH GENERAL GOWON.

GENERAL GOWON RETURNED NIAMEY THIS MORNING BUT REFUSED MAKE STATEMENT TO PRESS. HE DID NOT MAKE APPEARANCE AT PALACE DURING MORNING SESSION.

NIGERIAN DELEGATION HAS MADE CLEAR TO NEWSMEN THAT THEY FULLY PREPARED TALK PEACE WITH BIAFRANS AND HOPE THAT ANY BIAFRAN DELEGATION THAT COMES IS ADEQUATELY EMPOWERED TO NEGOTIATE.  
RYAN

NOTE: (#) AS RECEIVED. WILL BE SERVICED ON REQUEST.

UNCLASSIFIED

0143

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/03

20

# 9668

July 17, 1968

Honorable John G. Dow  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Congressman Dow:

*POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*

Thank you for your letter of July 2, 1968 to Secretary Rusk requesting a report on the famine crisis in Biafra and proposing that our United Nations delegation seek to enlist a United Nations effort to prevent widespread starvation in that troubled land.

We believe that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) with its reputation as an impartial and non-political body is in the best position to function as the coordinator of relief to Nigeria and Biafra. It has functioned well in this capacity up to now and has gained the confidence of both the Federal Military Government (FMG) of Nigeria and the Biafran authorities.

According to a press report on July 10, 1968, after conferring with the President of the ICRC, U Thant appealed to Biafran leaders to take advantage of Nigeria's offer to open a land corridor for relief supplies, which we think is a commendable initiative. He also said that the UN had to regard the Nigerian conflict as a purely internal matter in which it could not intervene unless its members called on it to do so. In view of the recognized non-political role of the ICRC, however, we think that this organization is the best means of getting assistance rapidly to those in need of help in Nigeria.

Although reliable figures are difficult to obtain, there is an urgent need for large quantities of food and other relief supplies within the area of Nigeria affected by the civil war. In this regard, the President stated on July 11, 1968 (copy enclosed) that the American people have watched with growing grief and horror the terrible loss of life and suffering in Nigeria. We understand that relief needs are greatest in the area still under control of the Biafran regime but thousands of innocent people in areas under control of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria are also in need of assistance.

The United States Government has been participating actively in relief efforts coordinated by the ICRC. A USAF plane and a U. S. Government

RECORDED BY RSP

(2)

*15/*  
*William B. Macomber, Jr.*

*AF: AFW - R. J. Wack*  
*Retyped: H. L. Levaney*

*ID/UNP*

*POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA*

*ME SOC 10 BIAFRA*

0144

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority *VND 950503*  
By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/03*

chartered aircraft in June flew more than 68 tons of drugs and high protein food to Lagos, intended for war-ravaged areas under both Federal and Biafran control. We are also helping to defray the cost of internal transport of relief supplies. We have donated four trucks to the Nigerian Red Cross, have given \$100,000 from disaster relief funds to the ICRC through the American Red Cross, and are providing over a million dollars worth of food aid through the Catholic Relief Services. Further U. S. Government measures to relieve the plight of all persons suffering as a result of the civil war are being studied. In addition, Catholic Relief Services, Church World Services, the American Red Cross and other American voluntary relief agencies have contributed \$1.7 million in relief assistance from their own resources. Through the ICRC, other countries including the United Kingdom, Germany, Norway and Sweden have also donated cash and substantial quantities of food, medicine and other relief supplies.

We hope that shipments of relief supplies can be sent into Biafra by truck since the land route appears to be the only practical way to furnish the massive assistance required; this is made even more relevant by the current rainy season and the improvised airstrips in Biafra. However, although the Nigerian Government has agreed to permit the transfer of food and medicine under a flag of truce, the Biafran leaders have so far refused and have insisted that donors, including the ICRC, continue to send supplies directly by a hazardous and inefficient air lift. Concerned relief agencies with our support have been making efforts to obtain Biafran agreement to some modification of this position with a view towards facilitating aid to the innocent and non-political victims of the civil war. I also enclose a statement by the State Department spokesman on this subject which might be of interest.

I hope this information is helpful to you. If we can provide further information, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

*DMB*

William B. Macomber, Jr.  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations

**Enclosures:**

1. Statement by the President
2. Statement by Department.

Clearances: AF Mr. Hadsel

H Mr. Leahy

IO/UNP Mr. Day (phone)

AF:AFW:RJWach:ba 7/12  
Retyped:H:DDevaney:ts 7/16 x4286

0145

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

Honorable John G. Dow  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Congressman Dow:

Thank you for your letter of July 2, 1968 to Secretary Rusk in which you request a report on the situation in Biafra and on measures the United States is taking to aid victims of the Nigerian civil war.

Although reliable figures are quite difficult to obtain, it is generally agreed that there is an urgent need for larger quantities of food and other relief supplies within the area of Nigeria affected by the civil war. Relief needs are greatest in the area still under control of the rebel Biafran regime but thousands of innocent people in areas under control of the Federal Republic of Nigeria are also in need of assistance.

The United States Government is actively participating in relief efforts coordinated by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). A USAF plane and a U.S. Government chartered aircraft recently flew more than 68 tons of drugs and high protein food to Lagos, intended for war-ravaged areas under both Federal and secessionist control. We are also helping to defray the cost of internal transport of relief supplies. We have donated four trucks to the Nigerian Red Cross, have given \$100,000 from disaster relief funds to the ICRC through the American Red Cross, and are providing over a million dollars worth of food aid through the Catholic Relief Services. Other U.S. Government measures to relieve the plight of all persons suffering as a result of the civil war are being studied. In addition, Catholic Relief Services, Church World Service, the American Red Cross and other American voluntary relief services have contributed \$1.7 million in relief assistance from their own resources. Through the ICRC other countries including the UK, Germany, Norway, and Sweden have also donated cash and substantial quantities of food, medicine and other relief supplies.

We hope that shipments of relief supplies can be sent into Biafra by truck since the land route, made even more relevant by the current rainy season and the improvised airstrips in Biafra, appears to be the only practical way to furnish the massive assistance required. However, although the Nigerian Government has agreed to permit the

0146

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/05

2.

transfer of food and medicine under a flag of truce, the secessionist leaders have so far refused and have insisted that donors, including the ICRC, continue to send supplies directly by a hazardous and inefficient air lift.

We believe that the International Committee of the Red Cross with its reputation as an impartial and non-political body is in the best position to function as the coordinator of relief to Nigeria and Biafra. It has functioned well in this capacity up to now and has gained the confidence of both the FMG and the "Biafran regime".

According to a Reuters press report on July 10, 1968, after conferring with the President of the ICRC, U Thant appealed to Biafran leaders to take advantage of Nigeria's offer to open a land corridor for relief supplies. He also said the UN had to regard the Nigerian conflict as a purely internal matter in which it could not intervene unless its members called on it to do so. We think that this is a commendable initiative. In view of the recognized non-political role of the ICRC, however, we think that this organization is the best means of getting assistance rapidly to those in need of help in Nigeria.

I hope that this information is helpful to you. If we can provide further information, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

William B. Macomber, Jr.  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations

Clearance:

AF-Mr. Hadsel

L-Mr. Leahy

AF:AFW:RJVach/AMHardy:kt:ba 7/11/68  
RS# 15029 8/S- 9668

0147

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05

FORM 12-63 DS-1563

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
**ACTION SLIP**  
(To Remain With Correspondence)

CONTROL NO.

9668

TO AF - Mr. Heubeck

DATE July 8, 1968

SUBJECT Ltr. to S from John G. Dow, 7/2, expressing concern about the conditions of millions of people in Biafra where massive starvation appears to be rising to disastrous level

**ACTION**

\*Prompt handling is essential. Return basic correspondence with reply. If delayed call telephone extension below.

For appropriate action.

For direct reply. Comeback copy required.

A response for signature by ~~Mr.~~ H - Mr. Macomber

XXX Prepare reply.

Clear with

Prepare a \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Refer to White House request of

XXX Due in ~~5/5~~ by H JULY 9, 1968

For your information.

REMARKS

COPIES TO

S - Mr. Shlaudeman (w/att)  
H - Mr. Briggs (w/att)  
IO - Mr. Owens (w/att)

GLKelly X4735  
SECRETARIAT STAFF

EXT.

0148

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

JOHN G. DOW  
27TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK  
  
COMMITTEES:  
AGRICULTURE  
MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
Washington, D.C. 20515

July 2, 1968

9668

(38)  
OFFICES:  
87 MAIN STREET, GOSHEN 10924  
U.S. POST OFFICE, NYACK 10960  
1220 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE  
BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

S  
ACTION  
is assigned to

AF

Honorable Dean Rusk  
Secretary of State  
2201 C Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Most certainly your Department is aware and concerned about the conditions of millions of people in Biafra where massive starvation appears to be rising to disastrous levels.

I wonder if you could give me, or report to others in Congress, your best estimate of the true situation in Biafra. Further, could you tell me what measures our government is taking to aid the unfortunate victims of the starvation.

I urge that our delegation at the United Nations seek to enlist a United Nations effort directed at preventing starvation in Biafra.

It would seem to me that a task force of the United Nations ought to direct itself to this hideous problem in eastern Nigeria. If there is some hesitation about this because it might flounder on the rivalries which exist between the Communist and the free world, still I believe that the nations of both worlds might be willing to join in a common effort to resolve a problem that should not exist on earth today.

With appreciation for whatever information you may be able to convey.

Sincerely,

15029

John G. Dow

(2)  
7/5/68

RECEIVED  
STATE  
DEPARTMENT  
JUL 5 1968

ANALYSIS  
SEARCH

DECLASSIFIED BY 624

JGD:cec

Pol 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

0149

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 954503  
By MNA Date 10/5/05



2.

transfer of food and medicine under a flag of truce, the secessionist leaders have so far refused and have insisted that donors, including the ICRC, continue to send supplies directly by a hazardous and inefficient air lift.

We believe that the International Committee of the Red Cross with its reputation as an impartial and non-political body is in the best position to function as the coordinator of relief to Nigeria and Biafra. It has functioned well in this capacity up to now and has gained the confidence of both the FMG and the "Biafran regime".

According to a Reuters press report on July 10, 1968, after conferring with the President of the ICRC, U Thant appealed to Biafran leaders to take advantage of Nigeria's offer to open a land corridor for relief supplies. He also said the UN had to regard the Nigerian conflict as a purely internal matter in which it could not intervene unless its members called on it to do so. [At present, bringing the UN further into the problem would appear unnecessary in view of ICRC efforts. It could also complicate relief assistance by introducing a political element, raising the issue of "Biafran" claims to independence and provoking the resentment of the FMG which considers the Nigerian civil conflict to be a purely internal affair.]

I hope that this information is helpful to you. If we can provide further information, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

William B. Macomber, Jr.  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations

Clearance:

AF-Mr. Hadsel  
L-Mr. Leahy

AF:AFW:RJWach/AMHardy:kt 7/10/68  
RS# 15029 S/S-9668

0150

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Authority VMD 950503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27 Biafra - Nigeria  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

NR DEF 12-5 Nigeria 48

CONFIDENTIAL 445

PAGE 01 BRUSSE: 08046 170012Z

89

ACTION AF 15

INFO: EUR 15, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, ACDA 16, MC 01, AID 28,

IO 13, E 15, DOT 10, /181 W

R 161619Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6898  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS:  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRUSSELS: 8046

SUBJECT: ARMS TO NIGERIA: SABENA PLANE CRASHES NEAR LAGOS:

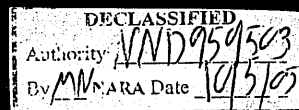
REF: BRUSSELS: 7846, 7413:

1. BELGIAN PRESS YESTERDAY CARRIED SABENA STATEMENT THAT ONE IF ITS BOEING 707'S CRASHED JULY 13 IN VICINITY OF AGEGE 20 FM FROM LAGOS AIRPORT. SABENA ANNOUNCEMENT MADE NO MENTION OF CARGO ABOARD BUT PRESS ARTICLES STATE THAT WELL-INFORMED SOURCES ACKNOWLEDGE PLANE CARRIED APPROXIMATELY 34 TONS OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION. PLANE SAID TO HAVE DELAYED TAKEOFF EVENING JULY 12 FOR TWO HOURS WHILE POLICE PINNING DOWN OFFICIAL POSITION OF GOB RE SHIPMENT.

2. ARTICLES QUOTE FONOFF SPOKESMAN, WHO REFERRED TO FONMIN HARMEL'S PRESENTATION TO BELGIAN SENATE ON JULY 11, AS SAYING: "FOR SEVERAL WEEKS BELGIUM HAS NOT ISSUED ANY FURTHER ARMS EXPORT LICENSES FOR NIGERIA. INSOFAR AS LICENSES WHICH MAY POSSIBLY HAVE BEEN ISSUED BEFORE THIS DECISION, THEY WERE IN ANY EVENT OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE." FONOFF SPOKESMAN WENT ON TO DENY CATEGORICALLY THAT SECOND SABENA PLANE HAD

CONFIDENTIAL

0151





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BRUSSE 08046 170012Z

BEEN ALLOWED TO DEPART WITH ARMS SATURDAY EVENING FOR NIGERIA.

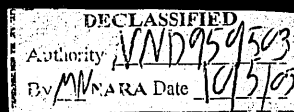
3. IN CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR ON OTHER SUBJECTS TODAY, HARMEL BROUGHT UP QUESTION OF BELGIAN ARMS SHIPMENTS TO NIGERIA. HARMEL NOTED HIS ACUTE EMBARRASSMENT OVER SABENA PLANE INCIDENT. HE SAID THAT WHEN HE HAD MADE HIS RECENT STATEMENT BANNING FURTHER SHIPMENTS TO NIGERIA HE HAD DONE SO ON THE BASIS OF POOR STAFF WORK SINCE HE SUBSEQUENTLY FOUND OUT THERE WERE NO LEGAL TEXTS OF ANY KIND TO SUPPORT HIS ACTION. FACT WAS THAT BELGIAN ARMS SUPPLIERS COULD THUMB THEIR NOSES AT HIM AND HIS ACTION WITH COMPLETE IMPUNITY. IT IS FOR THIS REASON HE IS INTRODUCING ON AN EMERGENCY BASIS NEW LEGISLATION TO PARLIAMENT TODAY WHICH IN ADDITION TO GIVING HIM NEW LICENSING AUTHORITY WILL ALSO GIVE HIM AUTHORITY TO CANCEL LICENSES PREVIOUSLY ISSUED.

4. WITH REFERENCE TO SPECIFIC SHIPMENT ON LOST SABENA PLANE, HARMEL AGAIN COMPLAINED THAT HE HAD BEEN ERRONEOUSLY INFORMED THAT THERE WAS AN INSIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF ORDERS ON THE BOOKS WHICH HAD NOT BEEN DELIVERED. HE STATED THAT SPECIFIC ORDER WENT BACK TO APRIL AND INVOLVED TRANSIT THROUGH BELGIUM OF AMMUNITION FROM GERMAN SOURCE, TO ACCOMPANY AN IMPORTANT NUMBER OF RIFLE BARRELS TO BE MANUFACTURED IN BELGIUM. SINCE ORDER WAS GOING TO BELGIAN FIRM IN FINANCIAL TROUBLE, BOTH TRANSIT LICENSE FOR GERMAN AMMO WHICH HAD BEEN MADE SINE QUONON BY NIGERIAN GOVT AND LICENSE FOR RIFLE BARRELS ORIGINATING IN BELGIUM WERE GRANTED. HARMEL TOLD THE AMBASSADOR HE HAD BEEN UNDER THE IMPRESSION THIS SHIPMENT HAD ALREADY BEEN DELIVERED AT THE TIME HE MADE HIS ANNOUNCEMENT BANNING ALL FUTURE ARMS SHIPMENTS TO NIGERIA.

GP-3 KNIGHT

CONFIDENTIAL

0152



(11)



POL 27 BIAFRA-  
Department of State NIGERIA  
**TELEGRAM**

XL POL 3 OAU  
XL POL 7 NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02060 161126Z

12  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15 IO 13 CIAE 00 DODE 00 GPM 04 H 02 INR 07 L 03 NSAE 00

NSC 10 P 04 RSC 01 SP 02 SS 20 USIA 12 RSR 01 109 W

PIR 161045Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1987  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

UNCLAS NIAMEY 2060

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

FIVE DELEGATIONS TO OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING  
ARRIVED NIAMEY JULY 15. ETHIOPIAN, LIBERIAN, CAMEROONIAN  
AND GHANAIAN DELEGATIONS HEADED BY CHIEFS OF STATE;  
NIGERIAN DELEGATION BY OBAFEMI AWOLowo, VICE PRESIDENT  
OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE; AND CONGOLESE DELEGATION BY  
UMBA DI LETETE, VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.  
DIALLO TELLI, SEC GEN OF OAU, TO ACT AS OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN  
DURING MEETING.

FIRST WORK SESSION HELD AT PALACE MONDAY EVENING.  
TELLI IN STATEMENT TO PRESS AFTERWARDS SAID "ACUTE SENSE  
OF RESPONSIBILITY DOMINATED THE DEBATES". HE GAVE NO  
DETAILS ON EXACT NATURE THESE DEBATES. SAID ONLY THAT  
NIGERIAN SITUATION HAD BEEN EXAMINED IN AFRICAN AND WORLD  
CONTEXT BY CHIEFS OF DELEGATIONS AND THEIR UNANIMOUS  
PREOCCUPATION WAS TO FIND PRACTICAL AND CONCRETE SOLUTIONS TO  
"THIS GREAT DRAMA AFFECTING ALL OF AFRICA". HE ALSO  
REQUESTED THE COOPERATION OF THE PRESS. THE QUESTION

UNCLASSIFIED

MICROFILMED BY RS/R

Niamey 2060  
7-16-68

(3)

0153

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
21

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02060 161126Z

OF COMMUNICATION TO THE PRESS IS SO DELICATE, HE SAID, THAT CHIEFS OF DELEGATIONS THEMSELVES WILL PERSONALLY DECIDE THE MEANS OF CONTACT WITH JOURNALISTS SO THAT NOTHING WILL HINDER EFFORTS TO FIND SATISFACTORY SOLUTION NIGERIAN CRISIS.

AFP NEWS SUMMARY TODAY FELT IMPORTANT QUESTION REMAINS WHETHER BIAFRAN DELEGATION WOULD ATTEND MEETING. SAID EFFORTS BEING MADE TO HAVE TWO FRANCOPHONE CHIEFS OF STATE WHO HAVE RECOGNIZED BIAFRA TO CONVINCE BIAFRAN LEADERS TO COME NIAMEY. CONCLUSION AFP ARTICLE WAS THAT IF COMMITTEE DID NOT SUCCEED IN ESTABLISHING DIALOGUE BETWEEN LAGOS AND BIAFRA, IT WOULD FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO ADOPT ATTITUDE FAVORABLE TO OTHER THAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

GENERAL GOWON ARRIVED 9:30AM TUESDAY MORNING TO SPEND DAY AT COMMITTEE MEETING. AT AIRPORT PRESS CONFERENCE HE REITERATED FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON SECESSION. HE ADDED THAT LAGOS WOULD CONSIDER MEETING SUCCESS IF IT WAS CONDUCTED IN SAME SPIRIT AS PREVIOUS ONE AT LAGOS LAST FEBRUARY. PROOF THAT OUKWU REFUSED TO CARRY ON DIALOGUE, GOWON ADDED, WAS THAT HE HAD REJECTED BEFRUARY DECISIONS OF OAU COMMITTED COMMUNICATED BY GENERAL ANKRAH.

GOWON, WHOSE ARRIVAL UNFORTUNATELY COINCIDED WITH HEAVY THUNDERSTORM, WAS ACCORDED WARMEST AIRPORT RECEPTION THUS FAR, PARTIALLY DUE PRESENCE AT AIRPORT SEVERAL HUNDRED NIGERIANS. GOWON'S RESPONSE TO PRESS QUESTIONS AND HIS AIR OF SINCERITY MADE FAVORABLE IMPRESSION ON MEMBERS GOVERNMENT AND DIPLOMATIC CORPS PRESENT IN SALLE D'HONNEUR.

LONDON. PLEASE PASS FOREIGN OFFICE.  
RYAN

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0154

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

*7-16-68*  
*Niamey 2065*

UNCLASSIFIED 729

PAGE: 01 NIAMEY 02065 161626Z

45

ACTION: AF 15

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, SAH 02, SA 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28,

IGA 02, NEA 13, ACDA 16, RSR 01, /171 W

P R 161530Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1988  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

MICROFILMED BY RS/A

UNCLAS: NIAMEY 2065

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

REF: NIAMEY 2060 — POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR POL 30AU

LOND PASS: FOREIGN OFFICE POL 7 NIGERIA

OPENING SESSION GOT STARTED LATE TUESDAY MORNING BEHIND  
CLOSED DOORS IN ESPECIALLY PREPARED CONFERENCE ROOM IN PALACE.  
DIALLO TELLI TOLD PRESS NORMAL PRESS ARRANGEMENTS INCLUDING  
BRIEFINGS WOULD NOT BE AVAILABLE DUE TO SENSITIVITY TOPICS TO  
BE DISCUSSED. PRESS, ESPECIALLY NIGERIAN AND GHANAIAN, IRKED  
AT TIGHT SECURITY. SINCE NIGERIANS APPARENTLY ANXIOUS TO GET GOWON'S  
STATEMENT TO PRESS NOTWITHSTANDING THESE ARRANGEMENTS, NIGERIANS  
DISTRIBUTED COPY OF GOWON STATEMENT TO PRESS IN ENGLISH AND  
FRENCH AFTER FIRST SESSION.

①

EMPEROR AS CHAIRMAN GAVE OPENING STATEMENT OUTLINING  
REASONS FOR MEETING AND PRESENT SITUATION NIGERIA. NO OTHER

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Authority: VND 959503
By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02065 161626Z

MEMBER COMMITTEE SPOKE. GOWON RECITED STEPS TAKEN SINCE NOVEMBER TRY TO RESOLVE DIFFICULTIES. NO FACT BIRANS HAVE CONSISTENTLY REFUSED COME TO CONFERENCE TABLE AND SUPPORT FMG'S EFFORTS FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTION. GOWON WARNED THAT IF SECESSIONIST BIAFRA DOES NOT COME TO CONFERENCE TABLE FAIRLY SOON THERE MAY BE NOTHING LEFT FOR SECESSIONISTS TO NEGOTIATE. GOWON SAID "IF BIAFRAN LEADERS PERSIST IN THEIR CONTEMPTUOUS ATTITUDE TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE, FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO TAKE OVER THE REMAINING REBEL-HELD AREAS". GOWON ADDED THESE AREAS INCLUDE TOWN ABA, OWERRI, NIGERIA, SO-CALLED IBO HEARTLAND. GOWON FURTHER TOLD MEMBERS COMMITTEE "THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN NIGERIA FOR THE OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE TO INVITE IN THE NAME OF AFRICAN UNITY THOSE FOUR COUNTRIES WHICH SEEM TO HAVE INFLUENCE WITH THE REBELS TO PREVAIL ON THE SECESSIONISTS TO RETURN TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE AND NEGOTIATE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO THE CIVIL WAR". NAMING GABON, IVORY COAST, TANZANIA, AND ZAMBIA, GOWON SAID THEY SHOULD PROVE THEIR GOOD FAITH BY ADVISING THE BIAFRANS "TO GIVE UP SECESSION AND ACCEPT REINTEGRATION INTO NIGERIA WITH ADEQUATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SECURITY OF THE LIFE AND PROPERTY OF THE IBO-SPEAKING PEOPLE". GOWON RESTATED FMG'S ATTITUDE TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS BY STATING "WE ARE DETERMINED TO PREVENT ANY DIPLOMATIC MANEUVER OR POLITICAL INITIATIVE WHICH WILL ENABLE REBEL LEADERS TO SUSTAIN REBEL LION AND SECESSION LOST ON THE BATTLEFIELD".

RYAN

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Authority <i>VND 959503</i>
By <i>MN</i> NARA Date <i>10/5/05</i>

(11)



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

27

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 809

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02066 011832Z

45

ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, AID 28, SAH 02,

RSR 01, /114 W

O 161600Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1989  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NIAMEY 2066

AS OF 5:00 PM LOCAL TIME INFORMED BY PALACE  
GENERAL GOWON DUE PARTICIPATE MEETING WITH OAU COMMITTEE  
AT 1800 HOURS. GOWON WILL DECIDE AFTER THIS MEETING  
WHETHER HE WILL SPEND NIGHT NIAMEY, KANO, KADUNA, OR LAGOS.  
UNDERSTAND GOWON PREFERS SPEND NIGHT IN NIGERIA.  
RYAN

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Authority VND 954503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05



(1)



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
50

UNCLASSIFIED 878

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02068 162135Z

92

ACTION: AF 15

INFO: EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, *7-16-68 Niamey 2068*

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SAH 02, SA 01, RSR 01, PC 04,

IO 13, /144 W

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P R 161835Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1990  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

UNCLAS NIAMEY 2068

LOND PLASS FOREIGN OFFICE

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AFTERNOON JULY 16 AFTER CLOSED DOOR  
MEETING OF CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE CALLED ON OJUKWU TO MEET  
COMMITTEE IN NIAMEY BY THURSDAY, JUL 18 IN ORDER FIND  
AFRICAN SOLUTION TO NIGERIAN CRISIS.

GENERAL GOWON LEFT NIAMEY EVENING 16TH TO RETURN  
NIGERIA. EXPECTED RETURN TO NIAMEY ON 17TH.  
RYAN

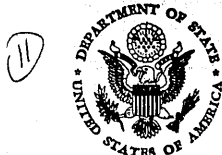
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Authority: VNP 950503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
XR CR 4

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 731

PAGE 01 KAMPALI 02568 151153Z

54:  
ACTION: AF 15:

INFO: EUR 15, OC 06, CCO 00, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSC 01, RSR 01, /057 W

RI 150928Z JULI 68:  
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
SECSTATE WASHDC 3014

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE KAMPALA 2568

SUBJ: NIGERIAN REPORTING

VIEW DEPARTURE HERE ONE C&R STAFF, WE WOULD APPRECIATE HAVING  
ALL TELEGRAMS ON NIGERIAN DEVELOPMENTS POUCHED WHENEVER POSSIBLE.

DECONI 7/69 STEBBINS

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MMNARA Date: 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 951

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02046 151549Z

52  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SAH 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, PC 04,  
SCA 02, OIC 05, RSR 01, 150 W

P R 151410Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1978  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 2046

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

REF: NIAMEY 2043 NOTAL - POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

ARRIVAL EMPEROR SHOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR DECISIONS  
NOW BE MADE ON CONFERENCE PROCEDURES, ETC. AT AIRPORT  
THIS MORNING DIORI TOLD ME VEN LOCALE OF MEETINGS AND  
MATTER OPENING SESSION WOULD BE DECIDED AFTER HIM'S  
ARRIVAL. HE INDICATED NO DECISION YET MADE ON INVITATION  
ICRC REPRESENTATIVE.

FRENCH AMBASSADOR INFORMED ME EARLY THIS AFTERNOON  
THAT TELEGRAMS HAD BEEN SENT TO HOUPHOUET AND BONGO TO  
APPROACH BIAFRANS REGARDING SOME TYPE PARTICIPATION,  
PROBABLY AS PART GABON OR IVORY COAST DELEGATION, AS  
DIORI DISCUSSED WITH BRITISH CHARGE YESTERDAY (SEE REFTL.  
FRENCH AMBASSADOR SAID DIORI HAD ASKED HIM TO ASK GOF ASSIST,  
INCLUDING COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES WITH LIBREVILLE.

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NIAMEY 2046  
7-15-68

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Authority VND959503  
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**<sub>29</sub>

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02046 151549Z

AHIDJO, EMPEROR, TUBMAN ALREADY HERE. ANKRAH DUE  
TWO FIFTEEN THIS AFTERNOON. NIGERIAN AND CONGO-K DELEGATIONS  
DUE ARRIVE THIS AFTERNOON. STILL NO FINAL WORD ON  
MOBUTU'S PERSONAL PARTICIPATION.  
RYAN

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/3/03

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POL 27 BIAFRA-  
NIGERIA  
Department of State TELEGRAM

27

CONFIDENTIAL 748

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02043 151248Z

49

ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 02, AID 28, PC 15, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, SA 01, RSR 01, 165 W

P R 150835Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1976  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

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CONFIDENTIAL NIAMEY 2043

REF: NIAMEY 2040 - POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

DIORI MET WITH BRITISH CHARGE SUNDAY MORNING. ONLY ITEMS COVERED IN ADDITION THOSE MENTIONED REFTEL WERE:

1. IDEA THAT DELEGATION FROM ONE AFRICAN COUNTRY WHICH HAS RECOGNIZED BIAFRA MIGHT BE INVITED NIAMEY WITH BIAFRANS FORMING PART THAT DELEGATION TO GIVE THEM MORE SECURE FEELING AND HAVE "FRIEND IN COURT" AND

2. SELECTION EXTERNAL OBSERVER FORCE MIGHT BE HANDLED BY FMG PARTICIPATING SELECTION ONE COUNTRY, BIAFRANS A SECOND AND ICRC A THIRD. ALSO IN REFTEL CHIEF STATE WHO MIGHT CONTACT HOUPHOUET SHOULD READ ANKRAH AND NOT RPT NOT GOWON.  
RYAN

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NIAMEY 2043  
7-15-68

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Authority: VNP 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAPRA-NIGERIA  
202184

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

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Classification

*[Handwritten signature]*

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15 JUL 68 19 03z

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY  
" DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

Info:

INFO : Amembassy LAGOS  
" LUSAKA  
" NIAMEY

Ref: Niamey 2044; State 202040; State 200858

1. Conour with Niamey's suggestion that action posts should attempt  
transmit ASAP Diori's message to Nyerere and Kaunda.

781-008

RUSK

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Drafted by: <i>at</i>	Tel. Ext. 6402	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AFW - Roy M. Melbourne <i>[initials]</i>
AF:AFW:AMHardy:ba 7/15/68		

Clearances:  
AFE-Mr. Feld (sub *at*)  
AFSE-Mr. Holmes (sub *at*)

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Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0163

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VMD 954503  
By: MNA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

*29*  
*Pol 27 Biafra Nigeria*

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 721

PAGE: 01 DAR ES: 03921 151235Z

49  
ACTION AF: 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SAH 02, AID 28, PC 15, NIC 01,

SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 02, SCS 04, RSR 01, /167 W

R 150857Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4643  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE DAR ES: SALAAM 3921

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN STATEMENTS

1. JULY 15 "NATIONALIST" QUOTES AUSTIN OKWU, "BIAFRAN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA," AS TELLING NEWSMAN THAT "THE OAU HAS A DUTY TO THE PEOPLE OF BIAFRA TO ACCORD THEM FULL RECOGNITION AND MEMBERSHIP. WE INTEND TO PUT OUR CASE BEFORE THE ALGERIAN SUMMIT OF THE OAU. I AM VERY OPTIMISTIC THAT THE REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA WILL BE ADMITTED AS A MEMBER OF THIS ORGANIZATION."

2. ON JULY 13, OKWU ISSUED STATEMENT TO PRESS WHICH DESCRIBED FMG PROPOSALS FOR RELIEF SHIPMENTS TO SECESSIONIST-HELD AREAS AS "COMPLETELY MISCHIEVOUS" AND UNFEASIBLE AT BEST. OKWU SAID THAT EVEN IF FOOD COULD REACH BIAFRA OVERLAND FROM ENUGU AND EVEN IF "BIAFRA GOVERNMENT" SAID IT WAS ALL RIGHT, "BIAFRANS WOULD NEVER TOUCH FOOD THAT HAD GONE THROUGH FEDERAL HANDS."  
EXEMPT  
BURNS

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*Now see Salomon 3921*  
*7-15-68*

0164

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Authority: VND959503  
By: MVA/ARA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State

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TELEGRAM

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UN POL 27 BIAFRA-~~LAGOS~~ GENEVA  
CONFIDENTIAL 722

GENEVA-4045  
1568

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04045 151213Z

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ACTION IO 15

INFO EUR 15, ORM 03, SR 01, SCA 02, SCS 04, AID 28, AF 09, SAH 02, CIAE 00,  
DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20,  
USIA 12, NSA 02, RSR 01, SA 01, /148 W

R 151054Z JUL 68  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8157  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4045

FROM PALMER

1. AT DINNER LAST NIGHT (JULY 14) WITH HICOMER FOR REFUGEES  
SADRUDDIN KHAN AND UNICEF DIRECTOR LABOUISSSE, LATTER SAID  
HE EXPECTED VISIT LAGOS JULY 20 FOR PERSONAL LOOK AT SITUATION  
AND TALKS WITH FMG LEADERS. SADRUDDIN KHAN THOUGHT HE COULD  
MAKE SOME OF HIS PERSONNEL AVAILABLE TO ICRC IF REQUESTED TO DO SO.  
HE WILL BE SEEING GONARD AND GALLOPIN TOMORROW AND WILL MENTION  
THIS TO THEM. HE EMPHASIZED HIS STAFF WAS SMALL, ALTHOUGH HE  
COULD PROBABLY RELEASE SOME PEOPLE WITH SPECIALIZED QUALIFICATIONS  
FOR LIMITED PERIODS.

2. SADRUDDIN BACKED UP AMB TURBY'S VIEW THAT HIGH-LEVEL FACT  
FINDER SHOULD PROBABLY BE SWISS IF HE IS TO OPERATE EFFECTIVELY  
UNDER ICRC AEGIS. SADRUDDIN THOUGHT PERSONALLY THAT FORMER  
SWISS PRESIDENT PETITPEIRRE, SWISS AMB LINDT IN MOSCOW, OR  
FELIX SCHNYDER WOULD BE GOOD CHOICES.

3. COMMENT: IF U. THANT INTENDS PERSEVERE WITH IDEA OF SENDING  
SPECIAL UN REP TO LAGOS, AND FMG ACCEPTS IDEA, LABOUISSSE  
MIGHT BE BEST CANDIDATE. HUMANITARIAN NATURE OF HIS MISSION  
WOULD BE CLEAR, HE IS ALREADY COOPERATING WITH ICRC AND  
WILL BE ON SPOT IN ANY EVENT.  
TUBBY

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MWA Date: 10/5/05



ACTION			
RM/R	REP	AF	ARA
1		5	
EUR	FE	NEA	CU
5			3
INR	E	P	IO
4	4	2	
L	FBO	AIO	S/P
		20	1
SCS	SEA	IGA	G/pm
1	2	2	1
AGR	COM	FRB	INT
	3		
LAB	TAR	TR	XMB
AIR	ARMY	NAVY	OSO
5	3	5	34
USIA	NSA	CTA	NSC
10	3	20	6
HEW			
7			

# AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

(ENCL. REPRODUCED IN PART)  
Original to be Filed in Decentralized Files.

POL 27-9 BIAFEA  
XB POL 27 BIAFEA-NIGERIA

FILE DESIGNATION

UNCLASSIFIED RECEIVED A-1989

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

JUL 15 9 45 AM '68

FROM : USUN - New York

DATE: July 15, 1968

SUBJECT : Nigerian Note re Relief Supplies for Biafra

REF :

Enclosed is a copy of a note from the Nigerian Mission to the UN, dated July 9, 1968, referring to discussions with the International Committee of the Red Cross concerning the arrangements for large-scale relief supplies for the rebel-held areas of the East Central State of Nigeria, and to Major-Gen. Yakubu Gowon's agreement that relief supplies for the rebel-held areas be air-lifted to Enugu, Port Harcourt or any other airports under Federal control and from thence transported by road to agreed points in the rebel-held territory.

Nigeria notes that its proposals to provide assistance and facilities, including a guaranteed corridor, have not been accepted by the rebel leadership.

The note states that while the FMG is doing all within its power to ensure that emergency relief supplies reach the rebel-held areas, the FMG emphasizes that any supplies brought into any part of Nigeria without the clearance and consent of the FMG constitute a gross violation of Nigerian airspace and an act of hostility against Nigeria.

PEDERSEN

Enclosure: *all m.m.*  
Copy of note

POST ROUTING			
TO:	Action	Info.	Initials
AMB/PO			
DCM			
POL			
ECON			
CONS			
AOM			
AIO			
USIS			
FILE			
Action Taken:			
Date:			
Initials:			
Drafted by:			
Clearances:			

FORM 10-64 DS-323

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Drafted by: ADMIN:DADarrer:daa  
Drafting Date: *7/15/68* Phone No.:  
Contents and Classification Approved by: ADMIN:TPSchottke  
Clearances: KA: len *la*

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/00



*Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 758

PAGE 01 IBADAN 00531 151341Z

54  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, W 02, INB 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, GP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, III W

R 131035Z JUL 68  
FM AMCONSUL IBADAN  
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 595  
INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMCONSUL KADUNA

CONFIDENTIAL IBADAN 531

REF: IBADAN 516, LAGOS A-718

1. NEWS ITEM IN JULY 12 NEW NIGERIAN SAYS THAT  
DR. FRANCIS IBIAM, WHO IS ATTENDING WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES  
ASSEMBLY IN UPPSALA, SWEDEN, WAS BEEN HAVING TALKS WITH WESTERN  
NIGERIAN COMMISSIONER FOR AGRICULTURE BOLA IGE.

2. BRITISH DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSION SAYS THAT WHILE IGE  
VISITED ROYAL AGRICULTURAL SHOW IN BRITAIN IN EARLY  
JULY, HE IS IN FACT ON LEAVE AS HE TOLD AMBASSADOR MATHEWS  
(LAGOS A-718). MOREOVER, LONG TIME EXPAT FRIEND OF IGE'S  
CONFIRMS AMBASSADOR MATHEWS IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS SHIFTED TO  
FAIRLY HARD POSITION ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH REBELS. EXPAT  
THINKS TALKS IN UPPSALA MUST HAVE BEEN AT IBIAM'S INITIATIVE.  
THUS, WHILE IBIAM-IGE MEETING REPRESENTS ANOTHER ELEMENT IN  
CONTINUING INFORMAL CONTACTS BETWEEN NIGERIAN OFFICIALS AND  
REBELS, DO NOT BELIEVE TOO MUCH IMPORTANCE SHOULD BE ATTACHED  
TO IT.

STRONG

CONFIDENTIAL

*Sharon 531*  
*7/3/68*

*Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria*

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0167

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND959503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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X NOOL 27-9 Biafra 200 L 27 Biafra-Nigeria  
OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL  
Classification

13 JUL 68 10 52z

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002040

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY

Info

INFO: Amembassy ACCRA Amembassy LUSAKA  
" ADDIS ABABA " MONROVIA  
" DAR ES SALAAM " NIAMEY  
USMISSION GENEVA " PARIS  
Amembassy KINSHASA " YOUNDE  
" LAGOS

STATE

LIMDIS

GENEVA FOR PALMER

REF: A. State 199844 (NOTAL), B. State 200858, C. Lagos 10717 (NOTAL) ~~XXXX~~  
D. Lusaka 2252 (NOTAL)

1. Ambassador Good has suggested and we agree that it might prove useful to ask Kaunda to approach Biafrans for realistic acceptance of ICRC supervised overland transport of relief supplies instead of their continued impractical insistence on airlift. (Ref C). We have been informed that Kaunda is scheduled to be in London at beginning of week.

2. Accordingly request that appropriate Embassy officer seek appointment with Kaunda for above purpose. At interview he should use references (principally Ref B as proposed approach Nyerere) as guidance during conversation. FYI-- Approach should not indicate we are taking like action with other governments ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ which have recognized Biafra or members OAU Consultative Committee. END FYI.

RUSK

END

Drafted by: AF/AFW:AMHardy

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

7/13/68 2619 Nigerian Task Force - Mr. Melbourne

EUR/BMI - Mr. Cheslaw

AFSE - Mr. Holmes

AF - Mr. Quimby (subs)

CONFIDENTIAL  
Classification

FORM DS-322  
8-65

0168

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/03



63  
Department of State

60/27 Biafra - Nigeria  
TELEGRAM  
21

CONFIDENTIAL 953

PAGE 01 KINSHA 10378 131127Z

16

ACTION: AFI 15

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 02, ORM 03, SR 01, AID 28, E 15, SAH 02,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, SA 01, 165 W

P R 131040Z JUL 68

FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8451

INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

RUTALS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 509

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 10378

REF: STATE 199844

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN QUESTION

LONDON FOR PALMER

1. I SAW BOMBOKO THIS MORNING, GAVE HIM SUBSTANCE OF  
REFTEL AND LEFT AIDE MEMOIRE WITH HIM.

2. BOMBOKO SAID THAT GDRC AGREED COMPLETELY WITH OUR  
VIEWS AND WOULD PRESS THEM HARD AT JULY 15 MEETING.  
HE SAID HOWEVER THAT NEITHER HE NOR THE PRESIDENT WOULD  
BE ABLE TO ATTEND THE MEETING IN NIAMEY BECAUSE OF THE  
PRESS OF OTHER BUSINESS. THEY INTENDED TO HAVE  
THEIR AMBASSADOR IN LAGOS HEAD THE CONGOLESE DELEGATION.  
AND HE WOULD PROBABLY BE ACCOMPANIED BY VICE MINISTER OF  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS UMBA DI LUTETE. HE SAID THEY WERE PLANNING  
TO CALL THEIR AMBASSADOR TO LAGOS BACK TO KINSHASA FOR

1  
MICROFILMED BY RS/R

CONFIDENTIAL

0169

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND954503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

21

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KINSHA 10378 131127Z

CONSULTATION BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE. HE  
REITERATED THAT THEY FULLY AGREED WITH OUR VIEWS. MCGUIRE

CONFIDENTIAL

0170

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Authority	VND 950503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03

(16)



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 106

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02040 131638Z

53

ACTION: AF 15

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SA 01, SAH 02, AID 28, PC 04,

RSR 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, /154 W

P R 131400Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1975  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
US MISSION GENEVA 8  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

CONFIDENTIAL NIAMEY 2040 POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

REF: STATE 199844. — POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR POL 3 OAU

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING: NIGERIA-BIAFRA

REGRET DUE TO BARBLE COMPLETE TEXT REFERENCED MESSAGE  
NOT RECEIVED NIAMEY UNTIL MORNING JULY 12. I SAW DIORI  
THIS MORNING AND HE IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT NECESSITY  
CONTINUE EFFORTS ESTABLISH LIAISON WITH BIAFRANS AND  
DESIRABILITY UTILIZING CHIEFS OF STATE WHICH HAVE  
RECOGNIZED BIAFRA IN EFFORT BREAK PRESENT IMPASSE. DIORI  
SAID THAT IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH HOUPHOUET AT ABIDJAN DURING  
THIS WEEK'S ENTENTE MEETING HOUPHOUET HAD INDICATED THAT  
HE HAS NOT BEEN IN TOUCH WITH BIAFRANS. DIORI SAID THIS  
WHOLE QUESTION CONTACT WITH BIAFRANS IS KEY POINT AND WILL  
CERTAINLY BE DISCUSSED AT OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.  
HE FURTHER SAID THAT HE WOULD TALK AGAIN WITH HOUPHOUET  
TODAY IN FURTHER EFFORT GET HIM TRY GET IN TOUCH WITH

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NIAMEY 2040  
7-13-68

0171

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By MN/ARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02040 131638Z

BIAFRANS. COMMITTEE WILL PROBABLY ALSO CONSIDER POSSIBILITY BIAFRAN DELEGATION COMING NIAMEY MEET WITH COMMITTEE. I WILL GIVE DIORI FILL-IN SUBSTANCE LAGOS 10799 WHICH ARRIVED AFTER MY MEETING WITH HIM. I HAD OPPORTUNITY BRIEF DIORI ON FMG PLAN UNILATERALLY OPENING LAND CORRIDOR FOR SUPPLIES TO BIAFRAN-HELD AREAS. DIORI SAID THIS WOULD BE GOOD IDEA.

DIORI INDICATED THAT DELEGATIONS EXPECTED START ARRIVING FIFTEENTH. THE ONLY CHIEF OF STATE HE NOT SURE OF IS MOBUTU BUT IF HE DOES NOT COME CONGO-KINSHASA WILL BE REPRESENTED BY APPROPRIATE HIGH OFFICIAL. DELEGATION FROM NIGERIA WILL ALSO BE PRESENT AND DIORI STATED THAT GOWON HAD INDICATED TO NIGER'S AMBASSADOR LAGOS THAT HE WOULD COME FOR THREE OR FOUR-HOUR MEETING WITH CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. DIORI ADDED THAT NO FORMAL GAENDA HAS YET BEEN PREPARED BUT THAT GON AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS PREPARING NECESSARY MATERIAL FOR TALKS. HE INDICATED FULL RESOURCES GON BEING DEVOTED TO ORGANIZING PLANS FOR NEXT WEEK'S MEETING.

DIORI AGREED WITH POSITION EXPRESSED IN STATE 200858 CONCERNING ROLE NYERERE MIGHT PLAY. DIORI ALSO TALKED OF POSSIBILITY OF AHIDJO WORKING WITH GABON, EMPEROR AHILE SELASSIE WITH TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA, AND DIORI, TUBMAN, AND GOWON TAKING APPROPRIATE ACTION WITH HOUPHOUET. DURING COURSE OF OUR CONVERSATION DIORI COMMENTED THAT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO HAVE REPRESENTATIVE ICRC PRESENT DURING PART OF TALKS. HE INDICATED THIS WAS SUBJECT TO WHICH HE WOULD GIVE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION AND TRY DIEHCSS WITH ONE OR MORE OTHER MEMBERS CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. DIORI SAID HE WOULD BE TALKING WITH BRITISH CHARGE ABIDJAN WHO WILL BE NIAMEY FOR NEXT SEVERAL DAYS. DIORI ONCE AGAIN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OUR VIEWS AND FACTWE WORKING TOGETHER TRY FIND WAY BREAK IMPASSE. HE ASKED THAT I CONTINUE KEEP HIM PERSONALLY INFORMED ANY ADDITIONAL DEVELOPMENTS WHICH I PROMISED DO.

GP-3 RYAN

CONFIDENTIAL

0172

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MVA
Date	10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL  
Classification

Origin  
Info:

ACTION: Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY  
USUN

INFO: USMission GENEVA  
Amembassy LAGOS  
Amembassy PARIS  
MEMN

STATE

SUBJECT: UN and Nigeria

REF: (A) London 10751; (B) State 200734; (C) Geneva 4014 NOTAL

PARIS FOR BALL, PALMER, SISCO

1. On his recent African trip, Assistant Secretary Palmer in press conferences has stated US view that "Nigerian conflict is first of all a Nigerian problem, ~~then~~ then an African problem, and then one for Commonwealth." In turn FMG considers civil war strictly an internal problem and most sensitive to any action which it might construe as external interference and apt confer international status X on Biafra. It has consistently opposed UN consideration of Nigerian problem (in contrast to Biafran efforts to obtain UN interest), reportedly discouraged U Thant from making any statement on question of war itself, and last September reacted violently to references Nigerian problem made in UN by Ghana and Gambia. FMG agreed to formation of OAU Consultative Commission on Nigeria in September 1967 and has cooperated with Commonwealth SecGen Arnold Smith's mediation efforts

Drafted by: AMHardy:pk 7/12/68 Tel. Ext. 2619 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Nigerian Task Force - R. M. Melbourne

Clearances:

UNP - A. R. Day  
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
AF - T. H. E. Quimby (subs.)

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Classification

FORM DS-322  
8-65

POC 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
200734  
YU UN 3  
A  
POC 3 OAU  
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DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 954/503  
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LONDON: USUN

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Classification

which resulted in Kampala peace talks. Biafra has talked with these organizations. Thus, OAU and CS in better practical position<sup>than UN</sup>/at this stage to perform intercession role with Biafra on crucial problem of access route for relief supplies and to both FMG and Biafra for resumption negotiations.

2. We were gratified by U Thant's statement appealing to Biafra to permit overland supply of relief assistance through Federal territory. Also pleased SYG appreciates need for working through ICRC and recognizes its key role in seeking obtain cooperation of Biafra and FMG. Our proposal to ICRC to name prominent individual as fact-finder on relief question being considered by ICRC (Ref C), which has promised early decision. We understand Schnyder is a leading possibility. Believe therefore that it could be most helpful for SYG to <sup>welcome</sup> ~~endorse~~ ICRC <sup>action</sup> ~~endorse~~ <sup>it is</sup> when ~~he~~ announced.

3. We understand UK has been in contact with Ottawa as CW member concerning observer force proposal, and other matters pertaining Nigeria. From conversations with Canadians here, understand they are in constant communication with British on relief questions..

4. FOR USUN. Suggest you make low-key approach to Secretariat to convey our views re UN role, particularly in relation to appointment ICRC ~~EMEX~~ emissary, drawing on above as appropriate. Desirable you inform UKUN of such approach and our general views on UN role this problem. RUSK

END

0174



POL 3 WEU  
Department of State TELEGRAM

XR POL 27-BIAFRA-3/

CONFIDENTIAL 006 NIGERIA

PAGE 01 THE HA 06132 121222Z

53

ACTION EUR 20

INFO NSA 02, AF 09, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SA 01, ACDA 16, RSR 01,

/127 W

R 120931Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2706  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 6132

SUBJECT: JULY 8-9 WEU MINISTERIAL -- GERMAN INITIATIVE  
ON NIGERIA

REF: THE HAGUE 6066, BONN 14237

1. CHIEF MFA AFRICAN BUREAU, VAN ARKEL, TOLD EMBOFF GERMAN  
SUGGESTION AT WEU MINISTERIAL IN BONN OF JOINT STATEMENT  
CALLING FOR CEASE-FIRE IN NIGERIA WON NO SUPPORT FROM OTHER  
SIX. BRITISH ADAMANT AGAINST IT, AND SEVERAL OTHERS  
MADE CRITICAL COMMENTS. DUTCH REP DE KOSTER REGISTERED  
OPPOSITION ON GROUNDS SUCH STATEMENT (A) WOULD PROBABLY  
AROUSE SUSPICIONS NEO-COLONIALISM AND (B) MIGHT COMPLICATE  
EFFORTS ALREADY UNDERTAKEN BY BRITISH.

2. VAN ARKEL IMPLIED GON UNLIKELY AT THIS JUNCTURE TAKE  
ANY ACTION THAT MIGHT BRING RENEWAL OF DIFFICULTIES WITH  
FMG ATTENDANT UPON CUTTING OFF DUTCH ARMS SHIPMENTS.  
HE POINTED OUT FMG EXTREMELY SENSITIVE, BIAFRAN LEADERS  
BEAR CONSIDERABLE PART OF BLAME FOR PRESENT DISTRESS OF  
THEIR PEOPLE, AND CONCLUDED THAT OAU IS MUCH MORE APPROPRIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

0175

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

3) To: RS/AM-C:  
Original (with courtesy  
copy of the correspondence  
was signed, dated & dispatched  
direct from "H".

JUN 12 1968

Honorable Clifford P. Case  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Case:

In response to your inquiry concerning the situation in the Nigerian-Biafran conflict, I offer the following resume of the current situation.

Two military coups and the killing of several thousand Eastern Nigerians resident in the Northern Region of Nigeria resulted in May 1967, after prolonged negotiations, in the secession of the former Eastern Region as the self-proclaimed independent Republic of Biafra. Two months later fighting broke out in the civil war which continues to this day. This conflict has its roots in tribal and regional animosities which cannot be exclusively blamed on either side. The Organization of African Unity in September 1967 affirmed that the conflict was an internal matter which basically only the Nigerians themselves could resolve.

Because of the nature of the struggle, we have followed a policy of non-intervention. We have continued to recognize the Federal Military Government as the only legal government in Nigeria. We have refused permission for the export of the U.S.-origin arms for use by either side. Believing that the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth Secretariat are in a better position to influence both sides than any other potential mediators, we have quietly and consistently encouraged them in their efforts to bring both sides together. We ourselves have avoided any actions which could be interpreted as interference in Nigeria's internal affairs.

Because of the intensity of tribal feeling and because most of the fighting has occurred in the secessionist areas, there

AF/AFW

Pol 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

RECEIVED BY BSA

0176

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/05

- 2 -

has been great international concern about the fate of Eastern Nigerian civilians. During the course of normal diplomatic activity, we and other nations friendly to Nigeria have indicated our strong desire that reconciliation be fostered through adequate safeguards to the lives of Eastern civilians.

We are very anxious for this tragic war to come to an end. We were disappointed at the break-up recently of peace talks in Uganda, arranged by the Commonwealth Secretariat, but are hoping that both sides will agree to a prompt resumption of negotiations leading to a peaceful settlement.

The United States Government is actively participating in relief efforts coordinated by the International Committee of the Red Cross. A USAF plane and a U.S. Government chartered aircraft recently flew more than 68 tons of high protein foods and drugs to Lagos, which are intended for distribution to war-ravaged under both Federal and rebel control. We are also helping to defray the cost of internal transport of relief supplies. We have donated four trucks to the Nigerian Red Cross, have given \$100,000 from disaster relief funds through the American Red Cross, and are providing over a million dollars of food aid through Catholic Relief Services. Other U.S. Government measures to relieve the plight of all persons suffering as a result of the civil war are being studied. In addition, Catholic Relief Services, Church World Service, the American Red Cross and other American Voluntary relief services are providing \$1.7 million in relief assistance from their own resources.

We hope that much of the high protein relief foods delivered to Nigeria can be sent into the secessionist-controlled areas by truck since the land route appears to be the only practical way to furnish the massive relief assistance required. However, although the Nigerian government has agreed to permit the transfer of relief material under a flag of truce, the rebels have so far refused and have insisted that donors including the ICRC, continue to send supplies by a hazardous and inefficient air lift.

You may be interested in the statement on this subject

0177

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MN NARA Date 10/5/03

- 3 -

issued by the President on July 11, a copy of which is enclosed.

I hope this information is helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

*WBM*

William B. Macomber, Jr.  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations

AF/AFW:RWach:ket 7/8/68

Clearances AF - Mr. Quimby  
H - Mr. Leahy

Retyped in H:JSLeahy:kvs 7/11/68

0178

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MM/ARA Date 10/5/03

- 2 -

has been great international concern about the fate of Eastern Nigerian civilians. During the course of normal diplomatic activity, we and other nations friendly to Nigeria have indicated our strong desire that reconciliation be fostered through adequate safeguards to the lives of Eastern civilians.

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I hope this information is helpful to you.

AF/AFW:RWach:ket 2 7/8/68  
Clearances AF - Mr. Quimby  
H - Mr. Leahy  
Retyped in H:JSLEAHY:kvs

Sincerely yours,

William B. Macomber, Jr.  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations

0179

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 950503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/03

37

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

XR  
POL 199844  
3044  
11 JUL 68 00 02Z  
FOR OCIT USE ONLY

Origin	ACTION: Amembassy	ACCRA	IMMEDIATE
	"	ADDIS ABABA	"
Info:	"	KINSHASA	"
	"	MONROVIA	"
	"	NIAMEY	"
	"	YAOUNDE	"
	INFO: Amembassy	LAGOS	IMMEDIATE
	Amembassy	LONDON	"
	USMission	GENEVA	"
	Amembassy	PARIS	"

STATE

PARIS FOR PALMER

REF: (A) Lagos 10689 (NOTAL); (B) Niamey 2003 (NOTAL); (C) Dakar 3335

1. Meeting OAU Consultative Commission on Nigeria scheduled for July 15-16. Agenda for meeting (ref B) is encouraging in its emphasis upon truly significant issues. Ambassadors at action posts, unless they have objection, should attempt convey, directly if possible, to Chief of State or other ranking officials need to break logjam on relief transport into Nigeria. Points in subsequent paras can be drawn upon for these talks.

2. Starvation and disease situation in both Biafran and FMG-controlled areas creating great international concern and sympathy. Friends of all Nigerian people beginning to feel that it should be possible for both sides with ICRC help to reach agreement that relief supplies should go promptly to where they are required. OAU Commission might therefore wish to emphasize an appeal to both parties to cooperate fully with the ICRC and with each other to bring

Drafted by: *RM* *cut* AFW:RMMELOUNNE:AHardy:emb 7/10/68 Tel. Ext. 2619 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF - Thomas H. E. Quimby

Clearances:

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Classification

FORM DS-322 8-65

0180

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND959503  
By: MNA Date: 10/5/05

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassies Accra, Addis Ababa, Kinshasa, Monrovia, Niamey, Yaounde

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

assistance to all suffering civilians.

3. Biafran insistence on air lift and refusal to permit supplies to be trucked into its territory under ICRC supervision and flag of truce has been major obstacle to effective relief effort. FMG has agreed to cooperate with ICRC in any overland relief supply. (FYI. We believe Biafrans exploiting relief issue to gain sympathy abroad and pressure FMG, through world opinion, into accepting cease fire without prior negotiations or renunciation of secession END FYI.) Consequently, realizing it also <sup>urge</sup> necessary ~~xxxx~~ FMG continue cooperate in relief effort, we believe interested parties appealing for an end to impasse on relief should emphasize need for Biafrans accept opening of land corridors. Airlift in rainy season to improvised airstrips is hazardous, costly and cannot meet magnitude of need. U Thant statement July 10, <sup>which</sup> transmitted septel, is direct plea to Biafrans/might be favorably regarded by OAU Commission. If Biafra could accept cooperation with FMG as well as ICRC in relief matters, particularly opening of land route, it might lead to relaxation of intransigence with respect negotiations.

END

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FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

0181

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Authority VMD 950503  
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05



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Nigeri  
200734

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

IMMEDIATE

11 JUL 68 23 04Z

Origin

ACTION:  
INFO:

Amembassy LONDON  
Amembassy PARIS  
USUN, New York  
US MISSION GENEVA

Info.

STATE

LIMDIS

LIMDIS  
BALL-SISCO TRIP: Nigeria Position Paper

DELIVER TO HENNES

- 1) Relief. US continues believe most effective way to deliver relief is by land corridor under ICRC supervision as agreed by FMG. Alternative idea of airlift insisted on by Biafra seems to us impractical since it cannot cope with scope of relief problem. In addition, airlift is hazardous, costly, and inefficient.
- 2) UN Role. Whether or what role UN might play remains be seen. Thus far FMG has rebuffed UN and SYG efforts be helpful (see Lagos 10689 ~~XXX~~ for current assessment FMG attitude toward UN). Although we do not wish discourage discrete UN role nor rebuff SYG, we believe propelling UN into leading role at this time may confuse efforts through other channels, e.g. ICRC. ICRC has gained confidence of both sides, is non-political and impartial body, and doing excellent job to date.

4

Drafted by:

IO:UNP:EBRIGES/jfc

Tel. Ext.

7042

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

UNP #

Mr. Gleysteen

Clearances:

AF/AFW - Mr. Melbourne

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

FORM  
8-65 DS-322

0182

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 95/503  
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

Page 2 of telegram to LONDON, PARIS, USUN, ETC.

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*Classification*

3. Question of relief of great public interest in US, coupled with rising concern over reported hardships among Ibos. US working closely with ICRC through Embassy Lagos and Mission Geneva, and with UNICEF, in seeking means to deliver relief supplies to regions where suffering greatest, including Biafra-held areas.

4. President Johnson issued statement on subject today: QTE We stand ready support ICRC with additional funds, supplies, and equipment.

Relief thus far frustrated by disputes on how to get supplies through lines UNQTE. ~~Statement~~ (full text ~~XXXXX~~ SEPTTEL) ends: QTE I urgently appeal to all those bearing responsibility to allow supplies to get to the people who desperately need them. UNQTE

5. Following partly summarizes current thinking on other aspects Nigeria problem.

a. Biafra secession. ~~Statement~~ recognizes FMG, does not recognize Biafra and US/remains opposed to fragmentation Nigeria.

We strongly favor maintenance Nigerian unity and early end suffering caused by civil war. We consider problem one for Nigerians to resolve with what help may be obtained from OAU and CS.

b. Level military activity. For humanitarian reasons and because of potentially adverse political repercussions in US and elsewhere should bloodshed increase, US hopes military activity can be reduced and peace

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0183

LONDON, PARIS, USUN, ETC.

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*Classification*

talks resumed at early date.

c. Recognition of Biafra by Tanzania, Ivory Coast, Gabon and Zambia. US regrets recognition because it has had practical result of prolonging war by embittering FMG and encouraging Biafra when it is in desperate military straits. Thus far US efforts to get four to exert whatever influence they may have on Biafra to return to peace table have been unsuccessful.

d. ~~OMEX~~ Observer force for Nigeria. We understand FMG amenable to observer force to ensure welfare of Ibos in post-hostilities Nigeria. FMG has been in touch with Canada and India for purpose. US not involved but we view observer force as useful device provided FMG itself agrees and works out modalities.

GP-4

END

RUSK

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*Classification*

FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

0184

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VMD 9503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/03

21



POL 27 Biafra-Nigeria  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

*AV 12-2 US*  
CONFIDENTIAL 211

PAGE 01 LISBON 01670 111339Z

46 44  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SS 20, GPM 04, LI 03, NSC 10, INR 07, CIAE 00, NSA 02

DODE 00, E 15, MC 01, CAB 09, DOT 10, SCS 04, SCA 02, AID 28, RSR 01

RSC 01, COM 08, TRSY 11, H 02, 181 W

R 111310Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2255  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 1670

SUBJ: AIRPLANE SALES AND PURCHASES BY HENRY WARTON FOR  
BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

1. EMBASSY IN POSSESSION COPY BILL OF SALE NORTH  
AMERICAN AIRCRAFT TRADING CORP., MIAMI, FLORIDA,  
SIGNED BY HENRY WARTON ON SALE OF DOUGLAS DC-7 CF,  
MANUFACTURER'S SERIES NO. 44875 (FORMERLY G-ATOB)  
TO ARCO LIMITED, BANK OF BERMUDA BUILDING, HAMILTON,  
BERMUDA.

2. EMBASSY ALSO IN POSSESSION COPY BILL OF SALE AND  
CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION HAWKER SIDDELEY 125,  
SERIES 1B/522, TWIN JET, MANUFACTURER'S SERIES NO.  
25099, NIGERIAN REGISTRATION NO. 5N-AER, WHICH TRANS-  
FERRED FROM GOVT OF EASTERN NIGERIA TO NORTH AMERICAN  
AIRCRAFT TRADING CORP. WARTON HAS STATED TO EMBOFF  
THAT THIS AIRCRAFT IN LIEU OF PAYMENT FOR SERVICES  
PREVIOUSLY RENDERED BY BIAFRAN AIRLIFT. ABOVE DOCU-  
MENTS BEING POUCHED TO DEPT.

3. RUMORS PREVALENT IN LISBON THAT ARRIVAL EXPECTED  
MOMENTARILY OF TWO SUPERCONSTELLATION CARGO AIRCRAFT  
FOR WARTON TO REPLACE RECENT LOSSES.

GP 4 BENNETT

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By: MVA/ARA Date: 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 605

PAGE 01 YAOUNDE 01804 111839Z

53  
ACTION AF 15

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,  
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03,  
SCS 04, SCA 02, PSR 01, /147 W

P 111655Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2218  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS  
AMEMBASSY GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMCONSULATE DOUALA

C O N F I D E N T I A L YAOUNDE 1804

PARIS FOR PALMER

REF: STATE 199844

1. PRESENTED SUBSTANCE REFTEL TO FONMIN NKO'O ETOUNGOU, WHO  
CONFIRMED VIEWPOINT OF GFRC IS IDENTICAL TO THAT EXPRESSED BY  
US. SAID THAT THIS IS POSITION TO BE TAKEN BY GFRC AT NIAMEY.  
PRESIDENT AHIDJO AND NKO'O ETOUNGOU WILL LEAVE YAOUNDE FOR NIAMEY  
1600 HOURS SUNDAY, ARRIVE NIAMEY 1830 HOURS.

2. I THEN ASKED WHETHER CAMEROON HAD BEEN APPROACHED ABOUT  
BEING CHANNEL FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES TO BIAFRA BECAUSE OF GEO-  
GRAPHICAL PROXIMITY. NKO'O ETOUNGOU SAID YES, THAT GOWON HAD  
ASKED IF TRADITIONAL TRADE ROUTE FROM IKOM TO MAMFE TO SOUTHERN  
PART OF EASTERN REGION COULD BE USED FOR TRANSPORT OF RELIEF  
SUPPLIES. CAMEROON POSITION FAVORABLE, PROVIDING NO TROOPS  
MOVED BY SUCH ROUTE, NO SUPPLIES MOVED OTHER THAN RELIEF

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PAGE 02 YAOUNDI 01804 111839Z

SUPPLIES, AND WITH SUPERVISION BY INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS.

3. NKO'O ETOUNGOU SAID CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES IN WEST CAMEROON HAD ASKED PRIME MINISTER MUNA IF CAMEROON WOULD PERMIT SHIPMENT MEDICAL SUPPLIES FROM CAMEROON TO BIAFRAN WOUNDED SOLDIERS. CAMEROON POSITION POSITIVE IF APPROVAL OF DELIVERY POINT GIVEN BY FMG, AND WITH SUPERVISION OF SHIPMENT BY INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS. CAMEROON WILL NOT BE INVOLVED IN SHIPMENTS BY AIR. CAMEROON ALSO HAS NO CONTACT OF ITS OWN WITH OJUKWU, NO WAY TO DETERMINE BIAFRAN WISHES. VIEWS EXPRESSED BY MISSIONARIES PRESUMABLY THEIR OWN.

4. NKO'O ETOUNGOU REPORTED ARRIVAL IN DOUALA YESTERDAY OR THIS MORNING OF REPRESENTATIVE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS, THAT NO CONTACT HAD YET BEEN MADE WITH NATIONAL RED CROSS IN YAOUNDE. GFRC HAS NO OBJECTION TO CAMEROON RED CROSS WORKING WITH ICRC IN MERCY MISSIONS CONNECTED WITH NIGERIAN WAR.

5. I THANKED NKO'O ETOUNGOU FOR INFORMATION, AND FOR CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE TAKEN BY HIS GOVERNMENT TOWARD RELIEVING SUFFERING IN NIGERIA. PAYTON

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

*Intelligence  
Note* - 538

July 10, 1968

To : The Secretary  
Through: S/S  
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *TH*  
Subject: NIGERIA: Putting the Heat on Lagos

As the Nigerian civil war enters its second year, the Federal Military Government in Lagos is under mounting humanitarian pressure to stop short of the final military subjugation of Biafra's Ibo heartland. Though Lagos will almost certainly cooperate with international efforts to relieve civilian suffering in Biafra, it is still unlikely to modify its demand that the besieged Biafrans renounce secession.

In Europe: Embargoes... An undercurrent of pro-Biafran sentiment already present in Europe, and particularly in Britain, has intensified; mounting evidence of civilian suffering in Biafra has been skillfully publicized (and to some extent exaggerated) by Biafran propaganda. Six European states--most recently Czechoslovakia, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium--have imposed embargoes on arms shipments to Nigeria. The British Government has so far resisted press and parliamentary demands that it cease providing arms to Lagos, but it has taken a leading role in attempts to reopen peace talks and get relief supplies flowing into besieged Biafra.

...And Relief. The West German Government, also under considerable political pressure, has denied that it licences the sale of German arms to Lagos. It raised the topic of Nigeria at this week's ministerial level meeting of the Western European Union. Bonn has joined the U.S., France, and other states in offering relief to refugees on both sides. The European-based

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GROUP 3  
Declassified on 11-28-2008  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

*Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria  
Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria  
Def 12-5 Nigeria  
Biafra - Nigeria*

0188

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- 2 -

International Committee of the Red Cross, the World Council of Churches, and more recently the United Nations (UNICEF) are also mounting relief efforts aimed primarily at Biafran refugees.

In Africa: Growing Uneasiness. Most African governments continue to sympathize with Lagos' efforts to reunify Nigeria. As the slaughter continues, however, fewer of them are willing to stand passively by. Four African states--Tanzania, Gabon, the Ivory Coast, and Zambia--now recognize Biafra's sovereignty; others--particularly Tunisia and Senegal--are edging toward recognition. Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, embarrassed by Africa's failure to attempt mediation of the Nigerian crisis, is trying to reconvene the long-dormant OAU Consultative Committee on Nigeria. If the Committee meets July 15 as scheduled, it will probably concentrate on getting Biafra to moderate its demands, but it will also caution Federal Nigeria to avoid military excesses. This exercise is not likely to move either side and may lead to a full-dress debate on Nigeria when the OAU next meets in September.

Lagos Remains Determined. Nigeria is convinced that Biafra and Biafra's friends abroad are using the issue of civilian suffering to force it to grant a ceasefire that can only benefit the rebels. Although concerned about the increasingly hostile climate of world opinion, Lagos is probably correct in believing that it can obtain enough weapons to maintain the offensive despite the spread of arms embargoes. Federal Nigeria will probably cooperate with relief efforts, but it is still bent on crushing the Biafran rebellion by military force if necessary.

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05





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Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria  
**TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 KINSHA 10286 091649Z

45  
ACTION AF 15

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, IO 13, EUR 15, ACDA 16, RSR 01, 155 W

R 091000Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8410  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE KINSHASA 10286

SUBJECT: GDPC INFOMIN EDITORIAL ON NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

1. LEAD TIME IN JULY 8 AGENCE CONGOLAISE DE PRESSE OFFICIAL DAILY BULLETIN.

COMMENTARY ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF OUTBREAK OF NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR. EMPHASIS OF COMMENTS WAS ON TRAGEDY THAT INCREASINGLY GHASTLY WAR GOING ON DUE TO EGOTISTICAL DRIVE OF "CERTAIN LEADERS" TO ACHIEVE ABSOLUTE POWER. APPARENTLY BARBS AIMED BOTH AT GEN. GOWON AND COL. OJUKWU BUT FOLLOWED BY BITTER REMARKS ABOUT THOSE OAU STATES WHICH RECOGNIZED BIAFRA.

2. FIRST NOTING THE EFFORTS AT CONCILIATION WHICH HAVE BEEN FRUSTRATED TO DATE, IT ADDED THAT QTE IT IS EQUALLY NECESSARY TO RECOGNIZE THAT MOST (OF THESE EFFORTS) HAVE BEEN TAINTED WITH IRONY AND HYPOCRISY, SINCE IN THE FINAL RECKONING IT IS CURIOUS THAT WHEN THE KAMPALA CONFERENCE WAS GOING ON, AS IF BY CHANCE, CERTAIN AFRICAN COUNTRIES GAVE HOPE TO THE SUCCESSIONISTS BY RECOGNIZING THEIR STATE? END QTE. IT STATED THAT THE SAME AFRICA WHICH CONDEMNED NEO-COLONIALISM SEEMED TO BE ACTING AS ITS INSTRUMENT. DARKLY IT INTONED THAT WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN NIGERIA TODAY COULD EASILY STRIKE OTHER AFRICAN STATES, ALL TO THE ULTIMATE BENEFIT OF OUTSIDERS. IT ENDED WITH AN APPEAL

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PAGE 02 KINSHA 10286 091649Z

FOR AFRICANS TO USE ALL MEANS TO END THE WAR AND TO REASON  
WITH BOTH SIDES IN THE CONFLICT.

3. COMMENT. THE GDRC CONTINUES TO PURSUE THE OFFICIAL LINE  
ADOPTED AT THE OAU SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN SEPTEMBER, 1967. TO  
DATE THIS IS THE STRONGEST BLAST AT TANZANIA, GABON, IVORY  
COAST AND ZAMBIA FOR GOING AGAINST THIS PROCEDURE IN RECOG-  
NIZING BIAFRA. IT IS ALSO FIRST PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT  
RECOGNITIONS HAVE IN FACT HURT CAUSE OF PEACE. EQUALLY  
IMPORTANT THIS COMMENTARY LAUNCHES THE ARGUMENT THAT SECESSIONIST  
MOVEMENTS IN GENERAL ARE ONLY TO THE BENEFIT OF NEO-COLON-  
IALISTS AND THAT OAU MEMBERS HAVE A DUTY TO RESIST THEM ON  
PRINCIPLE. MCGUIRE

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10684 091854Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO CU 04, P 04, USIA 12, INR 07, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSA 02, AID 28, PC 04,

SP 02, IO 13, L 03, RSR 01, RSC 01, /096 W

R 091700Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1437

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 10684

SUBJECT: CONDITION OF UNIVERISYT AT NSUKKA

REF. STATE 194221 *Pol 27 - Biafra Nigeria*

1. OUR BEST SOURCES (INCLUDING BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION STAFF AND SWIS WITH ICRC) TELL US MOST DAMAGE AT NSUKKA TOOK PLACE EARLY IN YEAR AND THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO FURTHER DAMAGE OF ANY SIGNIFICANCE SINCE THAT TIME.

2. IN GENERAL WALLS AND ROOFS OF BUILDINGS ARE UNDAMAGED, ALTHOUGH MOST WINDOW GLASS IS BROKEN, INTERIOR OF MOST BUILDINGS APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN RANSACKED FOR ANYTHING OF VALUE SUCH AS CHAIRS, TABLES, LAB EQUIPMENT, TYPEWRITERS, ETC. ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS AND BOOKS, INCLUDING THOSE IN LIBRARY, HAVE BEEN SCATTERED ON FLOOR OR OUTSIDE ON GROUND. THERE HAS APPARENTLY BEEN AMINORI FIRE AND THROUGH LOOTING IN THE CENTER FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION. SOME BUILDINGS BEING USED BY NIGERIAN ARMY FOR STORAGE OF SUPPLIES AND SWISS BELIEVE AT LEAST ONE BUILDING USED TO QUARTER ARMY PERSONNEL.

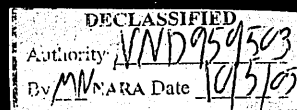
3. AT THE ENUGU CAMPUS STORY MUCH THE SAME ACCORDING BRITISH SOURCES RECENTLY THERE. MAJOR DIFFERENCE IS THAT ENUGU SOME BUILDINGS HAVE BEEN HIT BY MORTAR AND/OR ARTILLERY FIRE.

4. IN BOTH NSUKKA AND ENUGU IT ALMOST CERTAIN THAT DAMAGE

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10684 091854Z

TO UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS WAS DONE BY FEDERAL TROOPS SHORTLY  
AFTER THOSE TOWNS CAPTURED BY FMG. IN CASE OF ENUGU IT  
POSSIBLE SOME MORTAR DAMAGE INFLECTED RESULT OF BIAFRAN  
FIRE.  
DECON ONE YEAR.  
MATHEWS

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA



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CONFIDENTIAL 980

PAGE 01 YAOUND 01791 101010Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, AID 28, PC 04, /14

R 091700Z JUL 68

FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2209

INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

CONFIDENTIAL YAOUNDE 1791

REF: YAOUNDE'S 1780 - POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

1. FONMIN NKO'O ETOUNGOU IN INFORMAL LUNCHEON AT RESIDENCE DESCRIBED GOWON MEETING WITH AHIDJO HERE SUNDAY EFFORT ON GOWON'S PART TO ASSURE CAMEROON FMG DOING ITS BEST BRING WAR TO END. MENTIONED EFFORTS TO OPEN LAND CORRIDOR FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES, BUT SAID OFFER REJECTED BY OJUKWU. GOWON ALSO SAID QUOTE 12TH STATE OF NIGERIA UNQUOTE NOW ISOLATED, WAR FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES OVER, FMG READY TO NEGOTIATE ANY TIME.

2. NKO'O ETOUNGOU SAID PRESIDENTS OF OTHER STATES RECOGNIZING BIAFRA DID SO ON INSTRUCTIONS EXCEPT FOR NYERERE WHO ACTED OUT OF SYMPATHY AND FRIENDSHIP FOR OJUKWU. SOMEONE SUCH AS BONGO HAS NO REAL CONTACT WITH OJUKWU, NO REAL KNOWLEDGE OF SITUATION, AND NO INFLUENCE. NKO'O ETOUNGOU DID NOT SPECIFY WHO GAVE INSTRUCTIONS RECOGNIZE BIAFRA. I DID NOT ASK.

3. NKO'O ETOUNGOU, SOUTHERNER AND CHRISTIAN, AFFIRMS PERSONAL CONVICTION GOWON CAN SUCCEED IN PEACEFUL REINTEGRATION IBOS IN NORTH AS WELSHS ELSEWHERE. BELIEVES ALSO OJUKWU LED FELLOW IBOS DOWN GARDEN PATH, AND ACTED OUT OF GRANDIOSE CONCEPTION OF SELFLESS LEADER OF MOUNTAIN.

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PAGE 02 YAOUND 01791 101010Z

4. NKOVOZO ETOUNGOU REJECTED LOCAL DIPLOMATIC RUMOR THAT CAMEROON RED CROSS HAD MADE DONATIONS BIAFRA, EXCEPT POSSIBLY THROUGH CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS, AS ANY OTHER MEMBER COUNTRY.

5. NKOTO ETOUNGOU SAYS PRESENT PLANS ENVISAGE DEPARTURE OF PRESIDENT AHIDJO AND SELF FOR NIAMEY SUNDAY OR MONDAY, BUT THAT NOT ALL PARTICIPANTS SET AT THIS MOMENT. CLEAR FROM HIS REMARKS THAT AHIDJO NOT EQUIVOCATING ABOUT OWN PARTICIPATION. PAYTON

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10628 081834Z

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ACTION AFI 15

INFO EUR 15, NIC 01, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAEI 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SA 01, MCI 01, ACDA 16, RSRI 01,

AID 28, 143 W

R 081610Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1415  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LOME  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
CINCSRIKE/CINCMCAFSA  
DIA

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 10628

SUBJ: NYERERE, MOSCOW, AND NIGERIAN CRISIS

REF: ABIDJAN 3643, DAR ES SALAAM 3850

1. EMBASSY AGREES THAT IT UNLIKELY SOVIETS WOULD DISCONTINUE  
ARMS SHIPMENTS TO FMG AS RESULT OF TANZANIAN REPRESENTATIONS.

2. AS SEEN FROM LAGOS IT APPEARS THAT SOVIETS ARE READY AND  
WILLING TO CONTINUE TO SUPPLY ARMS TO FMG AND MIGHT EVEN STEP  
UP SUCH DELIVERIES IF BRITISH DECIDE TO HALT ARMS SUPPLIES.  
BRITISH FEEL EVEN MORE STRONGLY THAN THIS IS THE CASE.

GP-3 MATHEWS

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CONFIDENTIAL 664

PAGE 01 YAOUNDE 01780 081230Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, AID 28, PC 04, ALA 14

PIR 080816Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2201  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

CONFIDENTIAL YAOUNDE 1780

REF: NIAMEY 1997 — POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR POL 3 DAY

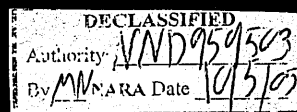
1. IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING PRESIDENT AHIDJO'S RETURN FROM PARIS  
YESTERDAY AFTERNOON HE WENT INTO CONFERENCE WITH FMG  
NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR ELHADJI BELLO MALABU.

2. LAST NIGHT FOREIGN MINISTER NKO'O ETOUNGOU RE 15 JULY  
DATE FOR OAU CHIEF OF STATE MEETING NIAMEY STILL UNCERTAIN.  
EXPLAINED THAT COMMITTEE WAITING TO SEE RESULTS OF QUOTE BRITISH  
INITIATIVE UNQUOTE. WILL ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE TOMORROW DURING  
LUNCHEON WITH FONMIN IF AHIDJO STILL DRAGGING HIS FEET. PAYTON

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*Pol 27 Biafra Nigeria*

CONFIDENTIAL 697

PAGE 01 DAR ES 03850 081300Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, ID 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SAH 02, SAL 01, AID 28, MC 01,

NIC 01, ACDA 16, RSR 01, /160 W

R 080901Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4611  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LOME  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW UNN  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY QUAGADOUGOU  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 3850

SUBJECT: NYERERE, MOSCOW, AND NIGERIAN CRISIS

REF: ABIDJAN 3643 (NOT SENT MOSCOW)

1. WE DOUBT BERRAH'S CLAIM (REFTEL) THAT NYERERE WOULD BE ABLE TO BRING ABOUT HALT TO SOVIET ARMS DELIVERIES TO NIGERIAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PROVIDED U.K. TAKES FIRST STEP. SOVIET-TANZANIAN RELATIONS AT PRESENT TIME MIGHT BEST BE DESCRIBED AS CORRECT BUT RESERVED. ON ONE HAND, SOVIETS FIND NYERERE GENERALLY MUCH TOO INDEPENDENT AND UNPREDICTABLE FOR THEIR TASTES, AND THEY ARE SPECIFICALLY CONCERNED ABOUT HIS CLOSE RELATIONS WITH CHINESE COMMUNISTS. ON OTHER HAND, NYERERE RESENTS SOVIET PAST INTERFERENCE IN TANZANIAN POLITICS (THEIR DALLIANCE WITH EX-MINISTER OSCAR KAMBONA), SOVIET POLICY IN NIGERIAN CRISIS, AND SOVIET IDENTIFICATION WITH "IMPERIALIST" WEST ON SUCH ISSUES AS NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY. FOR EXAMPLE, TANU PARTY PAPER "NATIONALIST" RECENTLY ATTACKED

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*Dev as Salaam 3850  
7-8-68*

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TELEGRAM  
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PAGE 02 DAR ES 03850 081300Z

SOVIETS AS "REVISIONISTS" BECAUSE OF THEIR MILITARY AID  
TO NIGERIA.

2. OTHER POSTS ARE BETTER ABLE TO COMMENT WHETHER  
SOVIETS WILL IN FACT HALT ARMS SHIPMENTS TO NIGERIA,  
BUT WE THINK IT HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT ACTION OF THIS  
SORT WOULD BE RESULT OF TANZANIAN REPRESENTATIONS.  
GP-3  
BURNS

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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197539

PL 23-8 US  
6 JUL 68 18 08Z

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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LONDON *PRIORITY*

Info

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

*PL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA*

STATE

1. Friday afternoon approximately 30 to 40 Biafrans, entering in small groups, infiltrated New York offices UKUN, BIS, and UK ConGen. Announced they intended sit in until British officials agreed to change HMG policy on FMG-Biafran dispute. British Embassy unwilling to file formal trespass charges which NYC police required before attempting evict Biafrans from premises. However, physical presence of police apparently had desirable effect. Protestors spent about six hours moving about offices, talking with British officials, but reportedly without property damage or physical violence. Around 1:30 a.m. Biafrans left peacefully without British pressing charges. This morning Minister British Embassy expressed appreciation to BMI Country Director for telephonic intervention by Under Secretary with NY police officials.
2. Dept. recommends any press inquiries about incident be referred FonOff.

197539

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End

RUSK

Drafted by:

EUR/BMI-ICHesla/rdk 7/6/68

Tel. Ext. 2119

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

EUR/BMI - M. D. Goldstein

Clearances:

XXX AFW - Mr. Melbourne (phone)  
S/S-O - Mr. Homme (phone)

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By: MNARA Date: 10/5/03



POL 27 Biafra - Nigeria  
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DEF 12-5 Nigeria

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 07848 061050Z

18  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, MC 01, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPMI 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, IO 13, ACDA 16,  
IGA 02, RSR 01, /158 W

R 060957Z JUL 68.  
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS.  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6851  
INFO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BRUSSELS 7848.

SUBJ: BELGIUM SUSPENDS ARMS SHIPMENTS TO FEDERAL MILITARY GOVT  
OF NIGERIA

REF: BRUSSELS 7418 AND 7829

1. IN STATEMENT TO PRESS FONOFF SPOKESMAN SAID THAT FMG OFFICIALS  
AFIKA UKBABI, CIVIL ADMINISTRATOR OF EAST CENTRAL PROVINCE, AND  
A COL. OBUKAZE, BILLED AS MILITARY UNDER SECRETARY, NIGERIAN  
FOREIGN MINISTRY, HAD CALLED ON HARMEL ON JULY 2, ACCOMPANIED BY  
NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR TO BELGIUM. IN COURSE OF DISCUSSION HARMEL  
EXPLAINED BELGIUM'S CONCERN OVER WAR IN NIGERIA AND EXPRESSED  
HOPE THAT PEACEFUL SOLUTION WOULD SOON BE FORTHCOMING. HARMEL  
ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT ICRC WOULD BE PERMITTED ALL FACILITIES  
TO BRING ASSISTANCE TO CIVILIAN WAR VICTIMS. FONOFF SPOKESMAN  
WENT ON TO SAY THAT BELGIUM WOULD PERMIT DELIVERY OF ARMS  
ALREADY CONTRACTED FOR AND FOR WHICH LICENSES ISSUED SOME TIME  
AGO BUT THAT NO FURTHER LICENSES WOULD BE GRANTED. STATEMENT  
ADDED THAT ANY REQUESTS IN FUTURE FOR ARMS DELIVERIES WOULD BE  
EXAMINED IN LIGHT OF EVOLUTION OF SITUATION IN NIGERIA.

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2. DURING YESTERDAY'S DEBATE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS BUDGET IN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, FONMIN HARMEL WENT A STEP FURTHER THAN STATEMENT OUTLINED ABOVE. HE SAID THAT SO LONG AS ICRC IS IMPEDED IN BRINGING RELIEF TO CIVILIAN VICTIMS, HE DID NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR BELGIUM TO FURNISH ANY ARMS TO NIGERIA. HARMEL ADDED THAT MEASURES TO PUT THIS COMPLETE SUSPENSION INTO EFFECT HAD BEEN TAKEN AND THAT NO FURTHER SHIPMENTS WOULD BE MADE TO FMG, THIS PROHIBITION TO INCLUDE ORDERS FOR WHICH CONTRACTS HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN PLACED AND LICENSES ISSUED, I.E. SHIPMENT OF ARMS TO FMG HAS BEEN COMPLETELY STOPPED.

EXEMPT. KNIGHT

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, IGA 02, ACDA 16,

RSR 01, 155 W

R 061735Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1397  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
RUTAKA/AMCONSUL KADUNA 2675

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10595

FROM PALMER

SUBJECT: PROSPECTS FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT NIGERIAN  
CIVIL WAR AND ATTITUDE TO UNITED STATES

1. DURING VERY CORDIAL TWO-HOUR CALL ON GOWON AND IN  
PRIVATE TALK WITH ARIKPO, COMMISSIONER, EXTAFF, JULY 5,  
I EMPHASIZED OUR STRONG DESIRE THAT NIGERIAN UNITY BE  
MAINTAINED AS WELL AS OUR DEEP CONCERN, SHARED BY THE  
AFRICAN NATIONS, FOR EARLY PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO END  
TRAGIC SUFFERING CAUSED BY CIVIL WAR.

2. GOWON TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO OPEN WITH DETAILED DISERTATION

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10595 061928Z

OF BACKGROUND CURRENT CONFLICT. HE DESCRIBED HIS EXTREME RELUCTANCE IN MEETING MILITARILY OJUKWU'S CHALLENGE TO EITHER RULE NIGERIA OR SECEDE HAVING SEEN FIRST HAND THE DESTRUCTION, CHAOS AND SUFFERING CAUSED BY CONGOLESE CIVIL WAR. HE HAD RESPONDED TO OJUKWU'S ARMED INCURSIONS A YEAR AGO WITH LIMITED POLICE ACTION BECAUSE HE BELIEVED THIS WOULD BE ENOUGH TO DISSUADE OJUKWU. HOWEVER, SECESSION DID NOT END WITH FALL ENUGU, AS FMG HAD MISCALCULATED EXTENT TO WHICH OJUKWU HAD LONG BEFORE PREPARED SELF MILITARILY FOR SECESSION. GOWON BITTERLY CITED CASES OJUKWU'S PERFDY AND FALSE PROMISES. HE SAID, "GOD KNOWS I DO NOT HATE THE IBOS AND CONSIDER THEM NIGERIANS. I ONLY HAVE HATRED FOR EVIL, AND OJUKWU IS THE EMBODIMENT OF WICKEDNESS" BECAUSE OF THE WAY HE HAS MISLED THE IBO PEOPLE. Z COMMENT: AMBASSADOR MATHEWS DOES NOT RECALL HEARING GOWON EXPRESS HIS FEELINGS TOWARD OJUKWU MORE BITTERLY THAN HE DID IN HIS REMARKS TO ME.

3. WHEN I URGED PATIENCE AND PAUSE IN MILITARY OPERATIONS, GOWON MADE CLEAR IN FIRMEST TERMS HIS DETERMINATION TO PERSEVERE UNTIL SECESSION RENOUNCED. (ON REFLECTION, I AM CONCERNED THAT GOWON MAY HAVE INTERPRETED MY REMARKS AS SUPPORTING UNCONDITIONAL CEASE-FIRE RATHER THAN MAINTAINING PRESENT PACE MILITARY OPERATIONS TO ALLOW TIME FOR EFFORTS GET PEACE TALKS RESUMED. I SHALL TRY CLARIFY THIS WITH ARIKPO AT DINNER TONIGHT.) HE SAID THAT TROOPS NOW MOPPING UP RIVERS STATE WITH ONLY AHOADA REMAINING TO FALL. ALTHOUGH EVERY EFFORT BEING MADE TO RESUME PEACE TALKS, HE SAID IT WOULD BE MISTAKE TO RELENT MILITARY PRESSURE WHICH WOULD ONLY PROLONG WAR AND INCREASE UNNECESSARILY SUFFERING OF IBO PEOPLE.

4. GOWN SAID THAT NIGERIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAD ALWAYS BEEN FIRMLY BASED ON FRANK AND HONEST EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, ENABLING THE TWO COUNTRIES TO OVERCOME MORE EASILY DIFFICULTIES CAUSED AT TIMES BY MISUNDERSTANDINGS. HE REGARDED THE US AS A TRUE FRIEND OF NIGERIA AND WARMLY PRAISED PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S COURAGE AND DETERMINATION IN PURSUING PROGRAM FOR

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN US. I THANKED GOWON FOR HIS EXPRESSIONS OF WARM REGARD FOR US AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON, AND NOTED THAT UNDERSTANDING OF NIGERIAN PROBLEM IN US HAD INCREASED IN RECENT MONTHS. I EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT STRONG CONCERN OVER HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS PREVAILS. GOWON SAID THAT THERE EXISTED NO SIGNIFICANT IRRITANT IN PRESENT NIGERIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP.

5. I NOTED THAT ALTHOUGH FMG HAD GIVEN MEANINGFUL CONCESSIONS AT KAMPALA, BIAFRAN POSITION SEEMED INFLEXIBLE AND UNRESPONSIVE. BIAFRA IS EXTREMELY ISOLATED AND OFTEN SEEMS TO BE VICTIM OF OWN PROPAGANDA. WE REGRETTED RECOGNITION OF BIAFRA BY FOUR AFRICAN STATES IN THAT IT FALSELY ENCOURAGED BIAFRA IN BELIEF THAT IT COULD GAIN DIPLOMATICALLY WHAT IT COULD NOT WIN MILITARILY. RECOGNIZING COUNTRIES, ACCORDINGLY, HAVE HEAVY AND SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO SPEAK REALISTICALLY WITH BIAFRANS. OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES SHOULD CONVINCE FOUR RECOGNIZING COUNTRIES OF THIS RESPONSIBILITY. US EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD HAVE MET WITH LITTLE SUCCESS.

6. GOWON AND ARIKPO DEEPLY GRATIFIED BY THIS STATEMENT OF OUR VIEWS.

7. IN REPLY MY QUESTION, ARIKPO AND GOWON STATED THEY WOULD POSE NO REPEAT NO OBJECTION SHOULD OAU HEADS OF STATE COMMISSION FOR NIGERIA DECIDE SEND MISSION POSSIBLY INCLUDING NYERERE, HOUPHOUET AND KAUNDA OR THEIR REPS TO BIAFRA. THEY DREW CAREFUL DISTINCTION BETWEEN ACCEPTANCE OF SUCH OAU MISSION AND INABILITY ACCEPT VISIT TO OJUKWU BY ARNOLD SMITH OR HMG REPRESENTATIVE.

8. ARIKPO SAID FMG WOULD AGREE TO USE OBSERVER FORCE TO SATISFY IBO NEED FOR ASSURANCES THEIR PROTECTION IF DEPLOYMENT SUCH FORCE WOULD BE PART OF A SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT IN WHICH FWCESSION IS RENOUNCED. HE SAID THAT CANADA AND INDIA HAD ALREADY BEEN CONTACTED AND WERE AGREEABLE TO PROVIDE UNITS FOR OBSERVER FORCE.

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9. BOTH GOWON AND ARIKPO EMPHASIZED FMG INTEREST IN CURRENT EFFORTS THROUGH ARNOLD SMITH TO REOPEN TALKS WITH BIAFRANS. THEY DEPLORED THAT SMITH UNABLE ELICIT RESPONSE FROM BIAFRANS SO FAR. IN CONFIDENCE, GOWON PARTICULARLY PRAISED "SILENT EFFORTS" OF QUAKERS WHOSE NON-PARTISAN APPROACH AND FRANKNESS HAS WON GOWON'S COMPLETE TRUST. ARIKPO SAID CURLE HAD NOT VISITED BIAFRA SINCE LAST MISSION UNDERTAKEN SOME MONTHS AGO, BUT SEEMED TO IMPLY HE MIGHT GO AGAIN SOON WITH UNPUBLICIZED FMG CONCURRENCE.

GP-3: MATHEWS

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XR POL 3 OAU  
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43  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, PC 04, RSR 01, SA 01,  
/142 W

P R 061400Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1953  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YOUNDE

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REF: STATE 159262: NIAMEY 1953

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
POL 3 OAU

GAVE PRESIDENT DIORI FILL IN THIS MORNING ON NIGERIAN/  
BIAFRAN SITUATION. DIORI WAS MOST APPRECIATIVE THIS BRIEFING AND  
SAID IT IMPORTANT THAT SEVERAL GROUPS WHICH ARE AT WORK TRYING  
TO FIND SOLUTION KEEP EACH OTHER INFORMED THEIR RESPECTIVE EF-  
FORTS. DIORI SAID HE REGRETTED HAD BEEN NECESSARY POSTPONE  
SCHEDULED NIAMEY OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING THIS WEEKEND  
BECAUSE IT NECESSARY OAU AS AFRICAN ORGANIZATION USE ITS IN-  
FLUENCE BOTH SIDES. DIORI STATED IMPORTANT THEREFORE THAT OAU  
CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEET ON JULY 15 AND THERE BE NO FURTHER  
POSTPONEMENTS. HE SAID HE HAD AGREEMENT FROM EVERYONE EXCEPT  
MOBUTU FOR JULY 15, MEETING, WHO COULD BE REPRESENTED BY HIS  
FOREIGN MINISTER IF HE HIMSELF UNABLE COME. DIORI STATED THAT  
WHILE NO FIXED AGENDA HAS YET BEEN SET FOR COMMITTEE MEETING  
HE BELIEVES COMMITTEE WILL DISCUSS FOLLOWING:

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1. STATIONING OF OBSERVER FORCES WITH FMG FORCES BEFORE CEASEFIRE, GETTING FMG ACCEPT THIS AS FURTHER EVIDENCE ITS DESIRE AND GOOD FAITH MAKE A START AND USE THIS AS FIRST STEP TO CESSATION HOSTILITIES.
  2. CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE TALK WITH BIAFRAN DELEGATION NIAMEY WITHOUT OJUKWU. DIORI INDICATED THIS STEP WOULD PROBABLY BE TAKEN WITH KNOWLEDGE OR CONSENT FMG.
  3. GET BIAFRANS AGREE ACCEPT RELIEF SUPPLIES TRANSPORTED THROUGH FMG TERRITORY EITHER AT NIAMEY MEETING WITH BIAFRANS OR USING OTHER SOURCES, I.E. HOUPHOUET. DIORI COMMENTED THAT UNREALISTIC FOR BIAFRANS EXPECT THE RELIEF SUPPLIES MAGNITUDE REQUIRED CAN BE BROUGHT IN BY AIR. HE HIGHLY COMPLIMENTARY BRITISH, CS AND OTHERS CONTINUING EFFORTS GET NECESSARY SUPPLIES MOVING TO AREAS IN GREATEST NEED. HE BELIEVES THAT IF SUPPLIES CAN START MOVING THIS COULD HELP TO BRING ABOUT SOME MODIFICATION OF BIAFRAN POSITION. HE AGREES THAT THIS MIGHT WELL CONSTITUTE FIRST STEP TOWARD CEASEFIRE.
  4. CONTINUING EFFORTS GET THOSE AFRICAN STATES WHICH HAVE RECOGNIZED BIAFRA PARTICULARLY IVORY COAST, TO CONVINCE BIAFRANS TO ADOPT MORE REALISTIC POSITION VIS A VIS THEIR PRESENT PREDICAMENT. DIORI ALSO FEEL THAT FMG MUST BE MADE REALIZE THAT LONGER PRESENT UNSATISFACTORY AND TRAGIS SITUATION PREVAILS MORE LIKELY IT WILL BE THAT BIAFRANS WILL CONTINUE MAKE POINTS IN PROPAGANDA EFFORTS WHICH DIORI FEELS SHOW EVIDENCE OF COMMUNISTS INSPIRATION AND HELP. HE MENTIONED PARTICULARLY SUSPICION BIAFRANS MAY BE GETTING HELP FROM COMMUNIST CHINESE. DIORI ALSO CONCERNED WORSENING EFFECT FOR AFRICA IF FMG DECIDES MILITARY ACTION ONLY WAY OUT PRESENT IMPASSE.
- DIORI SAYS HE PLANS SEND HIS BORTHER, WHO HAS BEEN HIS EMISSARY TO HOUPHOUET ON BIAFRA/NIGERIAN PROBLEMS, BACK TO ABIDJAN NEXT WEEK WITH MESSAGE FOR HOUPHOUT, DIORI HOPES THIS WILL RESULT IN HOUPHOUET MAKING FURTHER EFFORTS GET BIAFRANS ADOPT MORE REALISTIC POSITION.
- DIORI INDICATED OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING WOULD PROBABLY BE TWO-DAY AFFAIR, JULY -15 AND 16. HE SAID THAT HE GREATLY CONCERNED THAT EVEN WITH INTENSIVE EFFORTS OF VARIOUS

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PARTIES OVER PAST SEVERAL MONTHS LITTLE REAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARD CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES. HE HOPEFUL, HOWEVER, THAT IF THESE EFFORTS CAN CONTINUE A LITTLE LONGER THAT LOOKED FOR BREAK WILL COME.

DIORI EXPRESSED INTEREST RESULT PALMER-GOWON TALKS, WHICH HE SAID SHOULD GIVE LATEST FMG POSITION.

GP-3 RYAN

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
TR POL 16 BIAFRA  
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41  
ACTION: AF 15

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, /111 W  
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R 050945Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6178  
INFO: AMCONSUL ASMARA  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY BANGUI  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LOME  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEASFA

CONFIDENTIAL ADDIS ABABA 4598

SUBJECT: OAU NIGERIAN COMMISSION

FOR JULY 3 GRADUATION CEREMONIES AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE AT  
ALAMAYA, EMPEROR ON NIGERIAN PROBLEM COMMENTED TO ME THAT BOTH  
FMG AND IBESQTE ACTING BADLY UNQTE, AND PROBLEM OF DEEP CONCERN  
TO ALL AFRICANS. HE SAID HE SUPPORTED CS AS WELL OAU COMMISSION  
ENDEAVORS ON GROUNDS ANY POSITIVE MOVEMENT FORWARD SHOULD BE  
ENCOURAGED IN PRESENT DISTRESSING CIRCUMSTANCES. HOWEVER OAU  
COMMISSION, WHOSE MEETING NOW DELAYED QTE 10 OR 15 DAYS UNQTE,  
SHOULD AND MUST MEET SINCE SITUATION DANGEROUS FOR AFRICA AS

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SOME STATES HAVE RECOGNIZED BIAFRA AND OTHERS WILL DO SO IF  
MATTERS NOT SETTLED. HE CONCLUDED QTE WE AFRICANS MUST DO  
SOMETHING UNQTE. HALL

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By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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ORG 7 AF  
XR POL 15-1 UGANDA  
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XR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 KAMPAL 02505 051912Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, SS 20, GPM 04, NSC 10, INR 07, CIAE 00, NSA 02, RSR 01, RSC 01

/075 W

R 051335Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2975  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

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SUBJ: PALMER VISIT

REF: KAMPALA 2500

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
DEF 12-5 NIGERIA

1. SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS PALMER MEETING WITH PRESIDENT OBOTE REPORTED REFTEL.

2. THERE NOTHING MUCH TO ADD EXCEPT NOTE OUR IMPRESSION GOU VERY PLEASED ASST SECY ABLE VISIT UGANDA EVEN BRIEFLY. NEWSPAPER COVERAGE GENERALLY FAVORABLE ALTHO ARGUS CONTINUES SNIPE IN RATHER MEAN WAY AT U.S. IN GENERAL. WE PARTICULARLY PLEASED THAT AT AMBASSADOR'S JULY 4 STAG RECEPTION V.P. BABIHA AS WELL AS FOUR OTHER MINISTERS AND GOOD SELECTION OTHER OFFICIALS ABLE ATTEND. DIPLOMATIC CORPS OUT IN FORCE INCLUDING SOVIET AMBASSADOR SAFONOV WHO SOON DEPARTING KAMPALA ON REASSIGNMENT.

3. IN MATTER THANK YOU LETTERS WE WOULD ASSUME ASST SECY MIGHT WISH SEND LETTERS TO OBOTE AND OKAKA. WE WOULD ALSO SUGGEST LETTER TO DIRECTOR UGANDA NATIONAL PARKS, MR. FRANCIS X. KATEYE, P.O. BOX 3530, KAMPALA EXPRESSING THANKS FOR COURTESIES OFFERED IN JULIEN ELIZABETH PARK AND MENTION BEING MADE ACTG. CHIEF WARDEN, MR. P. SYKES. ALSO SUGGEST A NOTE TO MR. F. IRUMBA, MANAGING DIRECTOR, UGANDA HOTELS LTD., BOX 7173, KAMPALA EXPRESSING THANKS TO MR. W.F. BICKLEY, MANAGER MWEYA SAFARI LODGE WHO MOST COOPERATIVE IN TRANSMITTING MESSAGES AND MAKING

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ADP 127 BIAFRA  
NIGERIA

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00, P 04, RSC 01, USIA 12, SCS 04,

SCA 02, PPT 02, IO 13, RSR 01, 076 W

P R 051710Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4654  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 10619

SUBJ: WASHINGTON POST SENDING FRIENDLY TO BIAFRA

1. WASHINGTON POST'S ALFRED FRIENDLY INFORMS US PAPER HAS ASKED HIM TO VISIT BIAFRA, LARGELY BECAUSE EDITORS DISSATISFIED WITH SENSATIONAL AND SLANTED COVERAGE BEING PROVIDED BY STRINGERS. FRIENDLY HOPES BE IN IBOLAND WITHIN FEW DAYS (PRESUMABLY TRAVELING VIA LISBON).

2. COMMENT: IN VIEW FRIENDLY'S MATURITY AND PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE, AS WELL AS POST'S DISSATISFACTION WITH CURRENT REPORTING OF BIAFRAN SCENE, WE SUSPECT HIS TRIP MAY BE USEFUL COUNTERWEIGHT TO BIAFRAN PROPAGANDA. SINCE AL FRIENDLY JR. IS REPORTING FROM LAGOS FOR NY TIMES STAGE IS SET FOR FRIENDLY CONFRONTATION. KAISER

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PAGE 01 THE HA 06066 051801Z

53  
ACTION EUR 20

INFO IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, ACDA 16, AFI 09, ARA 08, RSR 01,

/132 W

P 051700Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2690  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY  
USMISSION GENEVA  
RUFHNA/USMISSION NATO 164  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 6066

SUBJ: DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS AND NIGERIA TO BE DISCUSSED  
AT WEU MEETING.

1. MFA SOURCES HAVE TOLD US THAT GERMANS HAVE MADE LAST  
MINUTE ADDITION TO POLITICAL AGENDA OF JULY 8-9 WEU AGENDA  
IN BONN OF TWO ITEMS UNDER QTE OTHER BUSINESS UNQTE: NIGERIA  
AND QTE AMERICAN AND SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS. UNQTE  
SOVIET NINE-POINT MEMORANDUM ON OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE  
NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH WAS DELIVERED RECENTLY IN VARIOUS CAPITALS  
(JULY 1 IN NETHERLANDS BY SOV. AMB.) WOULD THUS BE ON THE TABLE.  
SECRETARY TO WEU DEL. ASSUMES PRESIDENT'S JULY 1 STATEMENT  
UPON NPT SIGNING WOULD BE DISCUSSED AS US CONTRIBUTION. HE  
SAID MFA DISARMAMENT EXPERTS WILL PREPARE BRIEF RECAPITULATING  
SOVIET PROPOSALS THIS FIELD AND REASONS FOR WESTERN OBJECTIONS  
TO THEM, BUT HE PREDICTED NO PARTICULAR DUTCH INITIATIVE.  
REPORTS AVAILABLE TO MFA (INCLUDING THOSE FROM DUTCH EMBASSY  
WASHINGTON) INDICATED ABMS MOST FERTILE FIELD FOR DISCUSSION,  
BUT MFA DISARMAMENT AFFAIRS OFFICIAL TOLD US HE FOUND

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PAGE 01 KINSHA 10234 060818Z

21  
ACTION AF 15

INFO NSA 02, EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPMI 04, H 02, INRI 07, LI 03, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, SAH 02, RSR 01, AID 28, 141 W

R 051600Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8382  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 10234

SUBJECT: OAU NIGERIAN COMMISSION FROM KINSHASA OPTIC

1. FRIDAY NEWSPAPERS AND OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT RADIO BROADCASTS GAVE HEAVY PLAY TO AFP STORY REPORTING POSTPONEMENT OF BLW NIGERIAN COMMISSION FOR AT LEAST TEN DAYS AND POSSIBLY MORE. STORY SAID THAT AHIDJO, TUBMAN AND MOBUTU WERE UNABLE TO ATTEND MEETING SCHEDULED TO BEGIN IN NIAMEY JULY FIFTH. STORY SAID IT IS POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, THAT EMPEROR HAILE SELASIE AND GENERAL ANKRAH MIGHT ARRIVE IN NIAMEY ANYWAY FOR MINI SUMMIT WITH HAMANI DIORI. KINSHASA RADIO STRESSED THE IDEA THAT IN ANY EVENT, OAU COMMISSION COULD HAVE LITTLE IMPACT ON NIGERIAN PROBLEM AS LONG AS GENERAL GOWON CONTINUES TO INSIST COMMISSION MAY NOT ACT AS MEDIATOR IN PURELY INTERNAL MATTER.

2. IN CONVERSATION AT JULY FOURTH RECEPTION, FOREIGN MINISTRY POLITICAL DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR BOKINGI TOLD EMBOFFI THAT MOBUTU ASKED HAMANI DIORI TO ARRANGE TRANSFER OF MEETING TO KINSHASA WHEN LATTER WAS HERE AS GUEST OF GORC DURING JUNE 30 INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY WEEKEND. MOBUTU ARGUED THAT HIS DOCTORS TOLD HIM TO TAKE IT EASY FOR A WHILE, AND THOUGHT OF SPENDING SEVERAL DAYS IN DEBILITATING NIAMEY CLIMATE WAS JUST TOO MUCH. BOKINGI SAID THAT DIORI CLAIMED IT WAS TOO LATE TO CHANGE THE

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 KINSHA 10234 060818Z

SCENARIO.

3. EMBOFF ASKED BOKINGI IF BOMBOKO WAS STILL PLANNING TO ATTEND POSTPONED NIAMEY MEETING IN MOBUTU'S PLACE. BOKINGI SAID EVEN THIS IS NOW IN QUESTION BECAUSE BOMBOKO WILL BE NEEDED IN KINSHASA FOR THE YAOUNDE CONVENTION NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN OCAM AND THE EEC SCHEDULED FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JULY. BOKINGI SAID THAT VICE-MINISTER UMBA-DI-LUTETE OR AN AMBASSADOR WOULD HAVE TO REPRESENT CONGO. WHEN EMBOFF REMARKED THAT FINDING WAY TO END NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR DESERVES HIGHEST PRIORITY IN AFRICA AT THIS TIME, BOKINGI SAID, QTE I AGREE, BUT THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO HOPE THAT OAU COMMISSION CAN ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING UNQUOTE.

4. COMMENT: UNDOUBTEDLY, ONE ELEMENT IN MOBUTU'S REFUSAL TO GO TO NIAMEY IS HIS PIQUE THAT KINSHASA NOT DESIGNATED AS MEETING PLACE, THEREBY ALIGHTING HIS STATUS AS CURRENT OAU PRESIDENT. BUT IDEA THAT OAU COMMISSION IS USELESS EXERCISE UNLESS GOWON AGREES TO ACCEPT OFFICIAL OAU MEDIATION IS PROBABLY MORE IMPORTANT FACTOR.  
MCGUIRE

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Authority	VND959503
By	MMARA
Date	10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
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Classification

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
196793

B

5 JUL 68 10 20Z

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Origin

ACTION: AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

Info:

INFO: US MISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL IBADAN

AMCONSUL KADUNA

XXX

SUBJ: FMG STATEMENT ON RELIEF PLANES TO BIAFRA

1. AP and Reuters report morning July 5 a statement  
Lagos  
issued/by FMG that it has QUOTE told its air force to seek  
and destroy all aircraft engaged in unauthorized missions  
to secessionist Biafra UNQUOTE. AP says X FMG announced  
NAF QUOTE would shoot down any intruding aircraft not  
expressly cleared by Nigerian authorities UNQUOTE.

2. Statement adds attention Nigerian armed forces drawn  
to plans announced by certain British organizations and  
others to drop supplies by parachute in parts East Central  
State without FMG approval. FMG called on all relief  
organizations ~~and to cooperate with federal authorities~~ cooperate with  
federal authorities QUOTE to avoid any embarrassing incidents.  
UNQUOTE.

Drafted by: AF/P:RPerkins:kmd 7/5/68

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

AF/P:RPerkins

Clearances:

AFW (Mr. Melborne (draft) ) Rv/RJ  
P/ON (Mr. McCloskey (info) ) RJ

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FORM DS-322  
8-65

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By MVA Date 10/5/03

Page 2 of telegram to LAGOS

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3. We will take press line here stressing phrase unauthorized flights and say on background we aware FMG has been ~~informed~~ informed of and cooperated with certain relief flights of ICRC, other relief agencies. Would expect however statements this sort with visions relief plane shot down could play into hands pro-Biafrans. It could reinforce misleading impression it is FMG which impeding relief to starving Biafrans.

END

RUSK

FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, ACDA 16, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07,  
L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, SA 01  
SAH 02, SAL 01, /159 W

R 050730Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2657  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU UNN  
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU UNN  
AMEMBASSY LOME UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L ABIDJAN 3643

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

BERRAH, USHER'S TECHNICAL ADVISOR AND CONFIDANT, VOLUNTEERED FOLLOWING REMARKS TO US TODAY IN CONTEXT STRONGLY PRO-BIAFRA COMMENTARY ON NIGERIAN AFFAIRS WHICH NOW STANDARD ON PART GOIC OFFICIALS:

A. IF UK AGREES HALT ARMS SHIPMENTS TO FMG, HOUPHOUET WILL WITHOUT DOUBT BE ABLE CONVINCE BIAFRANS THEY SHOULD ADOPT MORE FLEXIBLE POSITIONS.

B. NYERERE WILL BE ABLE BRING ABOUT HALT TO SOVIET ARMS DELIVERIES TO FMG PROVIDED UK TAKES FIRST STEP. OTHER AFRICAN STATES ON GOOD TERMS WITH SOVIETS WOULD SUPPORT NYERERE'S EFFORTS PUT PRESSURE ON SOVIETS.

C. OUTCOME NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR MUST BE SOME FORM OF ASSOCIATION FREELY NEGOTIATED BETWEEN BIAFRA AND REST OF NIGERIA.

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PAGE 01 ABIDJA 03643 061055Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, ACDA 16, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPMI 04, H 02, INR 07,  
L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, SA 01,  
SAH 02, SAL 01, /159 W

R 050730Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2657  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU UNN  
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU UNN  
AMEMBASSY LOME UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L ABIDJAN 3643

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C. OUTCOME NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR MUST BE SOME FORM OF ASSOCIATION  
FREELY SWAUNWETED BETWEEN BIAFRA AND REST OF NIGERIA.

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*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**<sup>29</sup>

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NOTE: (#) AS RECEIVED. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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By	MM NARA Date 10/3/05



Department of State

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ACTION E-15

INFO EUR 15, AF 09, CAB 09, CIAE 00, COM 08, DODE 00, DOT 10, INR 07, RSC 01

NSA 02, L 03, MC 01, GPM 04, SC6 04, SCA 02, SY 03, FBI 01, JUS 02,

RSR 01, 097 W

R 051441Z JUL 68 ZFF  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3964

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MADRID 4341

SUBJECT: CIVAIR ATTEMPTED REGISTRATION OF DC-7 BY HENRY WARTON.

REF: STATE 194599

1. SPANISH AIR MINISTRY CONTACT INFORMED EMBASSY THAT LEGAL STATUS DC-7 REMAINED CONFUSED BECAUSE OF LACK OF DOCUMENTATION BUT IT NOW DECIDED INSTITUTE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS ON BASIS PLANE'S ARRIVAL MADRID WITHOUT REGISTRATION VIOLATED SPANISH AIR CODE. IN VIEW FACT NO EVIDENT AIRCRAFT OWNER LEGAL ACTION WILL BE AGAINST PLANE, AND ANYBODY CLAIMING OWNERSHIP WILL THEN HAVE TO ACCEPT CONSEQUENCES OF JUDICIAL PROCEEDING. EMBASSY GUESSES ABOVE WILL BE FAIRLY TIME-CONSUMING.

2. EMBASSY SOURCE SPECULATED THAT IF CLAIMANT CAN PROVE OWNERSHIP, PAYS FINE LIKELY TO BE IMPOSED AS RESULT ABOVE LEGAL ACTION, AND IS ABLE OBTAIN PLANE REGISTRATION, SUCH PERSON COULD PROBABLY THEN REMOVE PLANE UP TO SUCH TIME HOWEVER PLANE WILL REMAIN IN MADRID.

3. EMBASSY DOES NOT OBJECT RAISING BIAFRA IMPLICATIONS WITH GOS AUTHORITIES, BUT ON BASIS ASSUMPTIONS (A) SPANISH AND

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PAGE(S) MISSING IN ORIGINAL

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 01997 051519Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INRI 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, AID 28, PC 04, RSR 01, /141 W

P R 051015Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1949  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
KTAMA/AMEMBASSY MONROVIA 87  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NIAMEY 1997

DIORI TOLD ME LAST NIGHT OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE  
POSTPONED TO JULY 15. AHIDJO WITH WHOM DIORI TALKED ON TELEPHONE  
YESTERDAY AGREED TO BE PRESENT ON 15TH AS HAVE THE OTHERS EXCEPT  
FOR MOBUTU, WHOSE ATTENDANCE UNCERTAIN AS OF THE MOMENT. SCHEDULED  
MEETING FOR THIS WEEKEND WAS APPARENTLY ON AGAIN OFF AGAIN FOR  
PAST TWO DAYS AND FINAL DECISION FOR POSTPONEMENT WAS  
MADE YESTERDAY AFTER DIORI'S RETURN FROM CONGO-K.

GP-4 RYAN

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By: MWA/ARA Date: 10/5/05

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## U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

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CONTROLLED DISSEM*Intelligence  
Note* - 529

July 5, 1968

To : The Secretary  
Through: S/S  
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *TLH*

Subject: One Year of Civil War in Nigeria

The Nigerian civil war will be one-year old on July 6. The human and material cost has been tragically high, but both sides are determined to fight to the finish.

Lagos on Top. During the past year, Federal Nigerian armed forces have overrun nearly three-fifths of Biafra's territory and laid siege to the remainder. They have captured the original rebel capital, sacked most major centers of Ibo population and trade, and cut Biafra off from nearly all domestic sources of modern fuels and power. Few pitched battles have taken place, but Federal commanders have mounted a series of ponderous, stop-and-start advances that have dislodged the lightly-armed rebel troops--many of them irregulars hastily pressed into service--from one defensive position after another.

Biafra Unbowed. Biafra appears to be politically more united than the Nigerian Federation. Morale--civilian and military--is still largely intact, bolstered by diplomatic recognitions from four African states: Tanzania, Gabon, Zambia, and the Ivory Coast. Despite dependence on tenuous airborne supply and a severe shortage of foreign exchange, Biafra still maintains an army in the field, a makeshift helicopter air force, and even a river boat navy. Though chronically short of arms and ammunition, Biafran forces continue to fight well. Federal

POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA

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downgrading and  
declassification

0226

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By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

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- 2 -

occupation of former Biafran territory between the Niger and Cross Rivers is confined mainly to areas around the larger towns; Biafran harrassments continue deep behind Federal lines. Though no longer able to mount full-scale counteroffensives, Biafran units still make damaging local counterattacks that can stall Federal battalions for weeks.

Civilian Suffering. Biafra's Ibo tribesmen still fear extermination at the hands of advancing Federal troops. Hundreds of thousands of refugees--most, but not all, Ibos--have crowded into the shrunken rebel perimeter, already heavily populated. Malnutrition is widespread, and some starvation is probably occurring. The hard-pressed Biafran administration is unable to cope with the problem but has stubbornly refused to accept Federal offers of cooperation in transporting badly needed high-protein foods and medicines through the lines. Biafran propaganda has played heavily and effectively on the refugee problem as evidence of Federal barbarism, though Biafra's own large share of responsibility for the suffering is clear. There is abundant evidence that both sides have committed atrocities.

What Next? Despite continuing efforts by African and Commonwealth diplomats, neither side is yet willing to make concessions that might result in a resumption of the peace talks that broke off in Kampala, Uganda, in late May. Nigeria refuses to consider a ceasefire unless secession is renounced. Biafra will discuss nothing except an unconditional ceasefire. Biafra lives in hope of getting additional diplomatic recognitions and outside material support, and seems determined to fight a guerrilla war should organized resistance collapse. Federal Nigerian commanders are somewhat chary about mounting a general advance into the Ibo heartland but will probably end by doing so after the heavy summer

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- 3 -

rains are over. If they do not bring the war to a close soon, they have good reason to fear certain consequences: (1) increased pro-Biafran sympathy abroad, (2) pressures that might dry up some of their sources of arms, (3) additional outside help to Biafra, and (4) the steady attrition of their own forces through harrassment. The prospect is thus far more of the same: slow, grinding warfare with no early end in sight.

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By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SYSTEMATIC REVIEW WITHDRAWAL CARD NO. FOI 50-29

DATE: 7/5/68 MSG NO.: 0293 TYPE: TE  
FROM: USDAO LAGOS TO: DIA  
SUBJECT: Update current FMG/Eastern Med Situation  
DOCUMENT ORIGINATOR: DEPT. OF STATE: ☒ OTHER: ☒

BASIS FOR WITHDRAWAL:

☒ CONTAINS NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
☐ OTHER LAW OR REGULATION

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By	MNARA
Date	10/5/05



ORIGIN/ACTION

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AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
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ARMY	CIA	NAVY
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OSD	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
		NSC

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA

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A-718

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Air Priority

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFO : LONDON, IBADAN, KADUNA

JUL 5 1 11 PM 1968

FROM : Amembassy LAGOS

DATE: JULY 4, 1968

SUBJECT: Views of Bola IGE, Commissioner for Agriculture and Natural Resources, Western State Government

REF :

Bola Ige took the initiative in opening a discussion of the Nigerian situation with me at Consul STRONG's residence in Ibadan at lunch on June 30, 1968. He apparently was motivated by concern that HMG and the USG were pressing the FMG to make undesirable concessions to the "Biafran" rebels.

## Next Steps after Lord SHEPHERD's Visit

Ige began the discussion by saying that he gathered that Lord Shepherd had urged the FMG to do more to bring about an end to the civil war. He asked what more HMG and the USG thought the FMG could do. As he clearly meant to suggest that the Shepherd visit was a joint HMG-USG operation, I said that I wanted to make it clear that the USG was not involved in the Shepherd visit. The USG considered, however, that this British move had been timely and constructive.

As for next steps, I emphasized that in the USG view the key problem for the FMG remains to convince the Ibos in the East-Central State that they will be safe if they stop fighting. It is also necessary to satisfy the outside world on this score. Ige agreed that this was the central issue and remarked sadly that he knew the Ibos really did believe that they would be slaughtered if they surrendered.

We discussed the importance of an early massive relief effort in the three Eastern States and particularly among the Ibos. Ige showed

## GROUP 3

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FORM 4-62 DS-323

Drafted by: AMB:EGMathews/gw 7/2/68

Contents and Classification Approved by: The Ambassador

Clearances:

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Authority: VND 954503  
By: MWA Date: 10/5/05

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Page 2  
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Lagos

full awareness that this has political as well as humanitarian aspects by remarking that OJUKWU would find it difficult to continue convincing the Ibos of FMG evil intent if the FMG were actively assisting the movement of relief supplies. I commented that important quarters realized Ojukwu was at this stage holding up a major relief operation and that the FMG should drive this point home by frequently reiterating its willingness to cooperate with the ICRC.

#### Cease-fire

Ige said he understood that HMG was pressing the FMG to declare a unilateral cease-fire, an idea which he obviously regarded with considerable suspicion. I responded that while I gathered the question of a unilateral cease-fire had come up in the Shepherd talks, I was not aware that HMG was continuing to press this idea. Ige referred to local press reports that Lord Shepherd had said HMG would cease supplying arms to the FMG if there were more bloodshed. I responded that this was a truncated and misleading version of Shepherd's actual remarks, the full text of which had been distributed by the British Information Service.

#### Observer Force

Ige alluded unhappily to proposals for foreign observers to assist in policing a cease-fire. He wondered why this would be necessary. I said that it seemed to me a fairly obvious device to bolster the Ibos' sense of security which we had already agreed was the key problem. Ige reluctantly conceded the point.

#### Special Status for the East-Central State

Once again linking HMG and the USG, Ige indicated that he was troubled that we seemed to favor a special status for an Ibo state within the Nigerian federation. I denied this. I said that although some private commentators in both the US and the UK had put forward suggestions along these lines, the USG and as far as I knew HMG were not concerning themselves with Nigeria's internal constitutional arrangements. I went on to say that I thought he and perhaps other Nigerians were misinterpreting foreign interest in practicable arrangements for restoring peace in Nigeria as extending to eventual political and constitutional settlements. The USG regarded the latter as strictly internal matters for Nigerians to work out.

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Lagos

It did seem to me, however, that the FMG, in order to reassure the Ibos of their personal and tribal safety, might accept some temporary special arrangements for the Ibos and their territory for the period between a cease-fire and a constitutional conference. The acceptance of a foreign observer force was one example of such an interim measure. Ige appeared to accept the distinction between the immediate post-cease-fire situation and the long run constitutional settlement and cautiously indicated that he thought the FMG probably should agree to temporary special arrangements for the East-Central State.

#### States' Rights

I remarked that I had a very definite impression that when a constitutional conference was held in Nigeria, the East-Central State would by no means be the only advocate of states' rights seeking wide autonomy and powers for the State governments. I thought it likely that the Western State and Kano State would also take a strong states' rights position. Ige smiled and said he thought it likely that I was right.

#### Soviet Influence in Nigeria

Ige asked whether I thought that the Soviet Union was gaining predominant influence in Nigeria as a consequence of its supply of arms during the civil war. I replied that it seemed clear that the USSR had generally improved its image and gained new Nigerian friends by this move. I doubted, however, that even the Russians thought that they were gaining predominant influence in Nigeria. My personal view was that no outside power was likely to achieve such influence among a people as determined to do things in their own way as the Nigerians. I think Ige had expected me to fulminate against the USSR and the foregoing reply left him nonplussed.

#### Tribal Tension in the North

When I referred to rumors of tribal tension in the North, Ige said there were many rumors but he thought they were exaggerated. He made a point of denying press reports that the Western State Military Governor's impending visit to the North was occasioned by concern about the position of Yorubas there.

#### Ige's Leave

It is perhaps only coincidence, but it is interesting that Ige said he was beginning one month's leave on July 1--the same day Chief AWOLOWO begins his leave.

MATHEWS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, MC 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, PC 04,

SA 01, /143 W

P 041655Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2973  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

S E I C R E I T KAMPALA 2500

FROM PALMER

MAJOR PART MY AND AMB STEBBINS NINETY MINUTE MEETING WITH OBOTE AND ODAKA THIS MORNING WAS CONCERNED WITH NIGERIA. OBOTE MADE CLEAR AT OUTSET THAT UGANDA TRYING AVOID TAKING PUBLIC POSITIONS ON PROBLEM AT MOMENT IN ORDER MAINTAIN ACCEPTABILITY KAMPALA AS SITE FOR TALKS. AT SAME TIME HE DID NOT HIDE FROM ME HIS CONCERN AT PRESENT IMPASSE AND URGENCY WITH WHICH HE VIEWS NEED TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS. ALTHOUGH ADMITTING FMG HAS MADE ALL SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS THUS FAR, HE PARTICULARLY STRESSED IMPORTANCE FURTHER FMG FLEXIBILITY IF PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO BE FOUND. HE CITED AS EXAMPLE QUALIFIED FMG PROPOSALS RE AMNESTY. OBVIOUSLY, HE POINTED OUT, MBANEFO COULD NOT ACCEPT PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD LEAVE FMG FREE TO TRY AND EXECUTE OJUKWU. (I AGREED, ADDING IT WRONG PSYCHOLOGY IN ANY CASE THAT IBO COULD BE REASSURED RE HIS OWN SAFETY IF HIS LEADER COULD NOT BE ASSURED OF PROTECTION.) OBOTE WENT ON TO SAY HE HAS BEEN PRESSING FMG TO GIVE UNQUALIFIED AMNESTY ASSURANCES BUT THUS FAR WITHOUT SUCCESS.

PRESIDENT CONTINUED BY SAYING THAT HE WISHED TAKE ME INTO HIS

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Kampala  
7-9-68  
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PAGE 02 KAMPAL 02500 041929Z

CONFIDENCE. HE HAS BEEN REVIEWING RECORDS OF KAMPALA CONVERSATIONS IN AN EFFORT TO FIND SOME MEANS OF BREAKING PRESENT IMPASSE. HE HAS NOW DECIDED THAT BEST MEANS IS TO PRESS FMG TO ACCEPT OBSERVERS WITH FEDERAL FORCES EVEN BEFORE A CEASEFIRE, HOPING THAT SUCH ACTION WOULD RESTRAIN FMG FORCES, REASSURE BIAFRANS RE FMG INTENTIONS AND PERMIT RESUMPTION NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO EARLY CEASEFIRE AND PEACE SETTLEMENT. HE ADDED HE WOULD BE WRITING GOWON TO URGE THIS COURSE OF ACTION WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS.

I ENCOURAGED OBOTE IN FOREGOING BUT ADDED THAT WHEREAS MY CONCERN A FEW MONTHS AGO HAD BEEN FMG INFLEXIBILITY, I NOW FEARED THAT IBOS ARE BEING UNREASTICALLY RIGID AND THAT POSSIBILITY MEANINGFUL SETTLEMENT WOULD BE DIM SO LONG AS IBOS NUTURED ILLUSION THEY CAN ACHIEVE DIPLOMATICALLY WHAT THEY CANNOT ACHIEVE MILITARILY. OBOTE AGREED AND ASKED WHETHER WE COULD NOT TALK BIAFRANS ALONG THESE LINES. I SAID WE HAD FROM TIME TO TIME BUT THAT I THOUGHT ONLY AFRICA AND COMMONWEALTH COULD BE EFFECTIVE IN THIS TASK, ESPECIALLY THOSE AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE RECOGNIZED BIAFRA. I ASKED WHETHER TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA COULD NOT BE PERSUADED TO BE HELPFUL ALONG THIS LINE. OBOTE SHRUGGED THIS OFF AND SEEMED DISINCLINED TO FOLLOW SUGGESTION UP.

THROUGHOUT CONVERSATION OBOTE MADE CLEAR UGANDA'S CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR UNITY OF NIGERIA. AT SAME TIME, HE OBVIOUSLY UNHAPPY AT FMG, CONCERNED RE IMPLICATIONS FOR NIGERIA AND AFRICA OF ANY MILITARY SOLUTION, WORRIED BY HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS AND INCLINED ACCEPT BIAFRAN LINE RE RELIGIOUS OVERTONES AS BASIC CAUSE OF CONFLICT. HE EXPATIATED AT SOME LENGTH RE HIS SUSPICIONS OF SOVIET AND UAR INVOLVEMENT IN A HIGHLY CRITICAL MANNER. THIS GAVE ME AN OPPORTUNITY EXPLAIN AT SOME LENGTH REASONS WHY WE HAD REFUSED SELL ARMS, AN EXPLANATION WHICH OBOTE ACCEPTED WITH OBVIOUS APPROVAL.

AT END OF CONVERSATION, OBOTE SUMMARIZED HIS OVERALL CONCERN IN TERMS PARALLEL TO OUR OWN WHICH ENABLED ME TO IDENTIFY WITH THEM AND TO EMPHASIZE OUR DESIRE TO WORK QUIETLY TOWARDS COMMON OBJECTIVES. DESPITE THIS MEASURE OF AGREEMENT, HOWEVER, I FOUND MYSELF SOMEWHAT CONCERNED THAT OBOTE'S DISPOSITION SEEMED TO ME TO BE ONE OF PUSHING FMG DISPROPORTIONATELY TO WHAT IT SEEMS TO ME SITUATION REQUIRES WITH RESPECT TO NEED FOR INCREASING REALISM ON PART OF BIAFRA. STEBBINS

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0234

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
RBG 20 LAGOS 196494

3 JUL 68 23 35Z

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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

INFO : Amembassy AGGRA  
Amembassy ~~KADUNA~~ KADUNA  
Amembassy YAOUNDE

STATE

SUBJECT: US property at Enugu

REF: Lagos 10356

1. Embassy efforts to reach Enugu and make final survey of property appreciated and difficulties recognized here. Dept hopes strong effort continues and high priority given to survey and recovery of ~~personal~~ personal effects.

2. Suggest Embassy consider looking for aircraft for charter in Ghana or Cameroons, to avoid last-minute diversion by FMG. Meanwhile, Embassy should remain in contact with FMG in event ~~reasonable~~ reasonable assurances for use of Pan-African plane can be obtained.

3. Failing attempts arrange charter flight, and unless trips would be unsafe for American personnel, hope you will pursue as soon as possible truck convoy idea. Trip via Makurdi or via Idah and Nsukka (route once used by Engledow) might be alternate possibilities.

END

RUSK

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Drafted by:

AF/AFW:AMHardy:RWAch:11  
7/3/68

Tel. Ext.  
6402

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

AF/AFW:RM Melbourne

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FORM DS-322  
8-65

0235

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Authority: VMD 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

# 31 POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA 196528 XR POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA XR DEF 12-5 NIGERIA 3 JUL 68 23 54Z POL 16 BIAFRA OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
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Classification

Origin  
Info:

ACTION: ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS PRIORITY  
ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS "

STATE / INFORM CONSULS  
SUBJECT: Nigeria Summary

1. Recent Biafran propaganda efforts abetted by sympathetic press stories have created misleading picture Nigerian situation. Posts may draw on following as appropriate in discussions with host government officials. In this connection, also suggest posts refer to Current Foreign Relations No. 27 of July 3.
2. Nature of War. War basically rooted in tribal animosities, not Muslimjihad against Christian East. Head of State Gowon and many high-ranking Federal officials Christian. More Christians in rest of Nigeria than in East. Misleading regard war as no more than struggle between Hausa-Fulani dominated Nigeria and Ibos. Minority tribesmen (like Gowon) and Yorubas figure prominently in Federal leadership and military commands. While any casualties tragic, figures frequently used for war dead as over 100,000 highly exaggerated. One British estimate is high of 16,500 killed. 30,000 figure frequently given for killings of Ibos in North 1966 probably closer to 7,000.
3. Military situation. Federal Military Government (FMG) controls about 2/3 Biafra. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ FMG 12-state decree (May 1967) divided former Eastern Region (Biafra) into three new states. FMG now in complete control of new in new Rivers State Southeast State, holds all but one significant town/largely inhabited by non-Ibo.

Drafted: *[Signature]*  
AF/ARW:DFS:ncs:7/3/68  
Clearances:  
Tel. Ext. 2946  
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF: THE Quimby *[Signature]*

EUR: Mr. Doster  
EUR: BMT: Mr. Chelaw

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8-65

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By: MNARA Date: 10/5/03

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[Biafran forces almost completely restricted to East Central State (Ibo heartland) and  
In non-Ibo area minority tribes apparently  
FMG steadily compressing Biafran perimeters. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
cooperating  
~~XXXXXXXX~~ freely with FMG. Biafran armed forces thought to be suffering from severe  
arms shortages. Gowon dictated FMG strategy has been encirclement of Iboland avoidance  
thus far of invasion which could cause large civilian Ibo casualties.

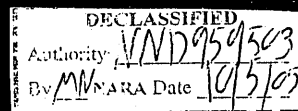
4. Peace prospects. Preliminary discussions in London May 6-14 under auspices Common-  
wealth Secretariat (CS) led to substantive negotiations in Kampala, Uganda May 23-31.  
Negotiations snagged on demand Biafran chief delegate Mbanefo for immediate cease-fire.  
FMG chief delegate presented proposal providing for cease-fire, rebel renunciation  
secession and acceptance 12-state structure for Nigeria 12 hours beforehand, disarmament  
rebels by mixed force foreign observers and FMG, amnesty, non-discriminatory recruitment  
of Ibos into armed forces and police. Enahro said FMG proposal was negotiable. Mbanefo  
at May 31 press conference termed FMG proposal qte program of insulting arrangements  
for Biafran sugrender. unqte. Though Federal spokesman said FMG willing to continue  
talks Biafra walked out. In our estimation, FMG demonstrated some flexibility at Kampala  
while rebels almost completely intransigent.

5. UK recently active in promoting settlement. June 6-14 Enahoro and Mbanefo held  
separate talks in London with CS and Commonwealth Office (CO). Biafrans insisted on  
cease-fire before further negotiations and halt to UK arms shipments. HMG sent three  
top officials from CO to Lagos June 20-24 where FMG officials agreed to informal con-  
fidential talks with Biafrans in London. FMG also indicated willingness accept inter-  
national observer force to assure Ibos of humanitarian treatment. Biafrans have not  
responded. FMG unlikely agree to cease-fire without Biafran renunciation of secession,  
though might accept renunciation through face-saving formula.

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Page 3 of telegram to ALL AF AND EUR DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS

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6. Atrocities. Atrocities since fighting on both sides. Biafrans guilty of their share. Recent killings of Ibos mostly by Eastern minority tribes seeking to avenge alleged persecution under Biafran regime. Biafrans known to have maintained detention centers for minority tribesmen. Dept believes FMG leadership wishes prevent atrocities, but has sometimes difficulty translating this into restraint on battle field. FMG concern about discipline reflected in publicity given recent public execution 2 FMG army officers for murder of Ibo civilians. Gowon has issued series of statements advising Ibos that their genocide fears unfounded.
7. Relief. ICRC estimates 600,000 in East in both Federal and rebel controlled areas require relief. Increasing indications Biafran medical and nutritional needs becoming desperate. Biafrans have recently designated airstrip for civilian and daytime use only. Federal officials have indicated informal agreement. We do not believe, however, that sufficient supplies can be brought in by air. FMG has stated repeatedly willingness cooperate with ICRC in establishing land corridor through Federal lines for relief shipments to Biafrans. Ojukwu has refused, insisting on direct flights apparently in order to arouse world opinion and force FMG to accept a cease-fire without prior negotiations. He thus using relief crisis for political purposes.
8. Foreign Relations. Dutch, French, Swiss, Swedes have ended arms supplies to FMG. Increasing pressure on UK to do ~~the~~ same. Czechs equivocating. Tanzania, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Zambia have recognized Biafra, but no additional recognitions for 6 weeks. Though main motives of recognizing governments apparently to encourage negotiations, Dept feels recognitions may have created unrealistic hopes in Biafra and prolonged war.
9. Radio Biafra has attacked US and American officials in recent weeks for qte full support of Nigeria's genocide unqte of Easterners, claim US supports UK policy, and

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[alleging US has provided arms to Nigeria. ]

10. US Policy. US continues recognize FMG but not Biafra, follows policy of non-intervention. We are following long-standing policy of refusal permit supply of US-origin arms over which we have any control to either side. We encourage African and Commonwealth & efforts on behalf of peaceful settlement. US making substantial contributions to ICRC-directed relief efforts and clear in its desire relief be distributed to needy in both Federal and rebel areas. Contribution announced June 21 of \$100,000 from AID disaster relief funds to ICRC through American Red Cross. Airlifting by USAF plane and USG-chartered ~~XXXX~~ plane more than 68 tons food and medical supplies to Lagos. \$100,000 contingency funds made available to AID/Nigeria. \$1.1 million emergency PL-480 food aid. \$1.7 million provided by private US sources through voluntary agencies.

END

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By: MWA/ARA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

*6.6 27 Biafra Nigeria*

135

CONFIDENTIAL 260

PAGE 01 DAR ES 03794 021440Z.

50  
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,070 W

R 021310Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4580  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

CONFIDENTIAL DAR ES SALAAM 3794.

LIMDIS

LAGOS FOR PALMER

1. HAD A LONG TALK THIS MORNING WITH FONOFF PRINSEC KATIKAZA ABOUT NIGERIA AS WELL AS OTHER ITEMS. AS NYERERE PREVIOUSLY DID KATIKAZA SAID US POSITION HAD BEEN CORRECT THROUGHOUT AND THAT IT WOULD HELP NO ONE FOR US NOW TO "TAKE SIDES" ALTHOUGH HE SUBSEQUENTLY DEPARTED SLIGHTLY FROM THIS TO SAY THAT HE THOUGHT INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE FOR A CEASEFIRE WOULD BE GREATLY STRENGTHENED BY PARTICIPATION OF US. HE MADE CLEAR TANZANIA'S CONVICTION THAT ONLY A CEASEFIRE WITHOUT CONDITIONS WOULD SUFFICE TO BRING EASTERN NIGERIANS (AS HE CALLED THEM MORE OFTEN THAN BIAFRANS) TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. HE EMPHASIZED THIS BY SAYING, "I KNOW BECAUSE WE ARE IN TOUCH WITH THEM EVERY DAY." HE MADE EQUALLY CLEAR TANZANIA'S UNWILLINGNESS TO PRESS "BIAFRA" TOWARD CONCESSIONS, EVEN, I GATHERED, IF THERE WERE A CHANCE OF SUCCESS WHICH HE DISMISSED AS POSSIBILITY.

2. KATIKAZA WAS GLOOMY ABOUT THE PROSPECTS, ADMITTED THAT LAGOS POSSESSED MILITARY STRENGTH TO CONTINUE SLAUGHTER INDEFINITELY BUT WAS SURE "EASTERN NIGERIANS" WOULD NEVER RPT NEVER GIVE IN. UNLESS LAGOS AGREES

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7-2-68*

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By: MVA Date: 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 DAR ES 03794 021440Z

TO A CEASEFIRE, HE SAID, "THE FIGHTING WILL GO ON FOR A VERY LONG TIME."

3. KATIKAZA HINTED BROADLY THAT TANZANIA MIGHT PRESS FOR SOME FORM OF UN CONSIDERATION OF NIGERIAN CASE AND CITED RECENT ADVOCACY BY WORLD COUNCIL OF

CHURCHES AND VATICAN OF UN ACTION AND TANZANIA'S OWN PRESS RELEASE ON SUBJECT IN NEW YORK, WHICH WE HAVE NOT RPT NOT SEEN HERE. HE ADMITTED THAT NIGERIA WOULD NEVER AGREE BUT SAID IT WAS A PROPER PROBLEM FOR UN ATTENTION "SINCE IT INVOLVES GENOCIDE."

4. GIVEN STRENGTH OF KATIKAZA'S VIEWS AND FACT THAT HE IS NYERERE'S FOREIGN POLICY ALTER EGO, I DO NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE POLITIC AT THIS TIME TO PRESS THIS PARTICULAR SUBJECT FURTHER WITH NYERERE HIMSELF. WHEN I SEE HIM FOR A "GENERAL TALK" AS I HOPE TO DO BEFORE LONG, NIGERIA CAN BE INCLUDED.

GP-3 BURNS

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I N C O M I N G

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Screener mh

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SERIAL 3794

1968 JUL 2 PM 8 43

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MilRep  
Summary  
Task Force

Geographic

AF5 5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

Functional

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Principals

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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10  
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DOD  
USIA 4  
NSA

File  
Burned

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

46

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PAGE 01 KADUNA 01126 021527Z

54  
ACTION AF 15

INFO IO 13, CIAE 00, GPM 04, INR 07, P 04, USIA 12, NSA 02, RSR 01, RSC 01,

/059 W

R 021430Z JUL 68  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 786  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
DIA  
CINCSSTRIKE/CINCMCAFSA

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REF LAGOS: 10417 - POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

FBIS REPORTS AZIKIWE MESSAGE ON RADIO BIAFRA BROADCAST  
WAS RECORDING OF ZIK'S VOICE WHICH FACT WAS OMITTED  
FROM FBIS ITEM BY OVERSIGHT. SEE N011500 JULY 1.  
DECON: ON RECEIPT.  
STOKES.

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SECRET 012

PAGE 01 021558Z

52

ACTION AF 06

INFO GPM 04, SS 20, L 03, INR 07, OPR 02, EUR 08, ACDA 07, RSRI 01, FILE 01.

/059 W

P 021100Z JUL 68  
FM USDAO/LAGOS NIGERIA  
TO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY  
DIA  
CINCSRIKE  
DA GRNC

SECRET 0289 JULY 78. SGD LINGLEY, DATT. SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF  
FMG/BIAFRAN MIL OPNS SINCE 1 JUNE 1968. KAMPALA FOR  
PALMER:

DIA FOR DIACO, CINCSRIKE FOR STRJ-2-C.  
A. RECAP OF MIL OPNSBY SECTORS.

1. ENUGU SECTOR (1ST DIV): RECENTLY, ELEMENTS OF 1ST BDE MOVED  
SOUTH FM AGBANI TOWARD AWGU AGAINST LITTLE OPPOSITION. ELEMENTS  
CROSSD THE RIVER NEUNA AT NOMEH ON 12 JUNE, CAPTURING BOTH RAIL  
AND ROAD BRIDGES INTACT. AWGU WAS SECURED ON 15 JUNE. ADVANCE TO  
AWGU WAS MADE TO HELP REDUCE REBEL AMBUSHING ON THE ONITSHA/ENUGUN.  
HIGHWAY.

2. ASABA/ONITSHA SECTOR (2ND DIV):

ATTEMPTS TO SUPPLY THE 1ST DIV BY ROAD FROM ONITSHA TO ENUGU  
ARE MEETING CONTINUOUS OPPOSITION FROM REBEL TROOPS. BOTH SIDES  
ARE SUFFERING MODERATE LOSSES OF BOTH MEN AND EQUIPMENT. THE ROAD  
BETWEEN ONITSHA AND AWKA HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE TO AMBUSH.  
FEDERAL FORCES ARE MOVING SOUTHEAST FROM ONITSHA AND ARE  
REPORTED TO BE FIVE MILES OUTSIDENNEWI (OJUKWU'S BIRTHPLACE).

REBEL TROOPS IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES ARE INFILTRATING GENERAL  
AREAS SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST OF ASABA ALONG WEST BANK OF NIGER RIVER  
INTO MID WEST STATE. APPARENT OBJECTIVE IS TO TIE UPI FMG TROOPS  
IN THE OGWASHI-UKU AND ASABA AREAS, RELIEVING PRSSURE ON REBEL

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PAGE 02 021558Z

FORCES ATTEMPTING TO DEFEND NNEWI. LARGE CONCENTRATIONS OF FMG TROOPS ARE REPORTED IN THE MID WEST STATE AT ASABA, OGWASHI-UKU AND OBIARUKU.

BIAFRANS ARE USING AIRSTRIPS SOUTH OF NNEWI ON THE IHIALA/ULI ROAD, AND THE ROAD EAST OF IHIALA. FEDERAL FORCES RE EXPECTED TO ADVANCE TO IHIALA UPON CAPTURE OF NNEWI TO SEIZE REBEL AIRSTRIPS.

3. RIVERS STATE/CREEKS SECTOR (3RD MARINE COMMANDO DIVISION): MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE RIVERS STATE CONTINUES TO BE MOST ACTIVE. REBEL FORCES LOST THEIR ONLY REMAINING REGULAR AIRFIELD, AND THEIR LAST OUTLET INTO THE BIGHT OF BIAFRA WITH THE CAPTURE OF THE SMALL COASTAL TOWN OF BRASS ON 6 JUN BY FEDERAL TROOPS.

ALTHOUGH PORT HARCOURT FELL TO THE FMG 3RD MARINE COMMANDO DIV ON 19 MAY, FOUR (4) REBEL COUNTERATTACKS HAVE BEEN MADE, AND IT WAS NOT UNTIL 14 JUNE THAT THE DIV COMANDER REPORTED PORT HARCOURT SECURE. OTHER ELEMENTS OF 3RD MARINE COMMANDO DIV ARE MOVING NORTHWEST OF PORT HARCOURT TOWARD AHOADA.

NUMBERS OF SMALL FEDERAL BOATS, BASED AT BONY, BEGAN THE SYSTEMATIC CLEARANCE OF VILLAGES OF THE NIGER DELTA UPON CAPTURE OF PORT HARCOURT. LATEST TOWNS TAKEN BY FMG FORCES IN THE DELTA AREA INCLUDE DEGEMA, BUGAMA, BAKAMA, ABONNEMA, AND YENAGOA.

THREE VILLAGES IN THE MID-WEST STATE WERE REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN DESTROYED BY REBEL INFILTRATORS IN REENGE FOR VILLAGES TURNING REBEL SOLDIERS OVER TO LIBERATING FMG TROOPS. VILLAGES INCLUDE LETUGBENEI (ON THE COAST AT MOUTH OF DODO RIVER), AND ABIAMA AND AGURU (ON THE BORDER OF THE RIVERS STATE).

IKOT EKPENE WAS LOST TO A REBEL FORCE ON 20 JUNE. ELEMENTS OF THE 3RD DIV AT ABAK REORGANIZED ON 21 JUNE AND MOVED NORTH TO RECAPTURE THE CITY. NO RESISTANCE WAS MET ALONG ROAD AND AFTER BRIEF SKIRMISH ON SOUTHERN OUSKIRTS OF IKOT EKPENE, THE CITY WAS REOCCUPIED DURING THE EARLY HOURS OF 23 JUNE. ELEMENTS OF 3RD DIVISION WERE DIRECTED TO FOLLOW WITHDRAWING BIAFRAN FORCE ALONG UMUAHIA ROAD TO THE EAST CENTRAL STATE BORDER.

B. COMMENTS:

AS: FEDERAL TROOPS CAPTURE KEY COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION

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PAGE 03 021558Z

CENTERS, AND ARE HALTED ON THE PERIPHERY OF THE IBO HEARTLAND THE FMG POLICY OF ENCIRCLEMENT AND CONTAINMENT OF THE IBOS APPEARS EVIDENT.

CONTINUING MILITARY OPERATIONS TO REMOVE POCKETS OF REBEL FORCES IN THE RIVERS STATE CAN BE EXPECTED.

THERE HAS BEEN NO LET UP IN THE TRAINING OF ARMY RECRUITS. TRAINING CENTER AT ABEOKUTA IS AT FULL CAPACITY WITH APPROXIMATELY 3,000 RECRUITS.

MILITARY MATERIAL FLOWING INTO LAGOS APPEARS TO BE AT ITS HEAVIEST VOLUME SINCE THE WAR BEGAN. FEAR OF POSSIBLE ARMS SALE BAN BY EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAS PROMPTED THIS BUILDUP OF MEN AND MATERIAL. GP-3.

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
195262

XR POL 3 OAK  
XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR ORG 7 AF

2 JUL 68 21 41Z

Origin  
Info: ACTION: Amembassy NIAMEY PRIORITY  
INFO : Amembassy ABIDJAN  
" DAR ES SALAAM  
" KAMPALA  
" LAGOS  
" LIBREVILLE  
" LUSAKA

Ref: (A) Niamey 1953 (B) Lagos 10247 (C) Lagos 10301

1. In view Diori's consistent efforts in behalf peace for Nigeria and key role as host forthcoming OAU Consultative Committee Meeting, you can draw upon tels you have received for talk with him. Certain tels give US views expressed to officials of some countries which have recognized Biafra. FYI So far we have not reached either Kaunda or Nyerere END FYI.
2. In discussing Shepherd-Gowon talks, suggest you focus on public communique ref B. While ref C for your background, you could point out that it clear in aftermath talks it highly unlikely FMG would agree cease-fire without Biafran willingness renounce secession.
3. You could stress unrealistic Biafran position particularly refusal to resume negotiations. Suggest you also mention, as further example lack of realism Ojukwu, his insistence relief supplies of ICRC be flown into Biafra from abroad and refusal thus far to permit them to be trucked under flag of truce to which FMG has already agreed. We had hoped that such

Drafted by:  
AF:AFW:AMHardy:ba 7/2/68

Tel. Ext.  
6402

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by: AFW - Roy M. Melbourne

Clearances:

AFCW-RStrand

AF-Mr. Quimby (sub)

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Page 2 of telegram to NIAMEY

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an agreement might be a first step towards a general cease-fire.

4. Palmer African ~~in~~ itinerary did not include Congo (K) independence day festivities.

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8-63  
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TR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 04574 021350Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DDDE 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SAH 02, AID 28, NIC 01, RSR 01,

/142 W

R 021200Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6159  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
CINCSRIKE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN

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CONFIDENTIAL ADDIS ABABA 4574

REF: LAGOS 10371 <sup>2</sup>nl

1. FONMINISTRY ASSISTANT MIN AYALEW MANDEFRO HAS CONFIRMED  
EMPEROR HAS RECEIVED REQUEST FROM PRES. AHIDJO TO POSTPONE OAU  
NIGERIAN COMMISSION FROM JULY 5 TO JULY 15. SINCE IT IS ALSO  
UNDERSTOOD DIORI AND TUBMAN AGREEABLE, EMPEROR WILL RELUCTANTLY  
GO ALONG WITH LATTER DATE.

2. OAU ASST. SEC. YHNOUN REITERATED TO EMBOFF HIS HOPE MEETING  
WILL NOT BE POSTPONED AGAIN. HE ADDED BIAFRANS, MINUS OJUKWO,  
PROBABLY WOULD BE PRESENT AND THAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FMG  
AND BPAXRANY SEEMED TO BE CENTERED IN OJUKWO WHOSE QTE WITHDRAWAL  
UNQTE, HE OPINED, WOULD GREATLY FACILITATE TALKS.

3. COMMENT: IF NEWS THIS MORNING CORRECT THAT BIAFRANS HAVE  
STATED THEY WILL NOT ATTEND ANOTHER KAMPALA-TYPE MEETING, THIS

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Authority	VND 950503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 050

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01475 021126Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,  
SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, PC 04, IO 13, RSRI 01, / 128 W

R 020950Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1770  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
INFO RUTAIJAMEMBASSY ABIDJAN 121  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

SECRET LIBREVILLE 1475

KAMPALA FOR PALMER

SUBJECT: BIAFRA

1. RE PALMER CONVERSATION FONMIN MALEKOU AT MOANDA JUNE 22 ON  
NIGERIAN SITUATION AND POSSIBLE GOG EFFORT HELP PERSUADE BIAFRA  
TAKE MORE REALISTIC POSITION NEGOTIATIONS. MALEKOU HAS CONFIRMED  
TO ME THAT HE PRESENTED PALMER'S VIEWS PRES BONGO AS PROMISED,  
THAT BONGO RECEPTIVE AND RESPONSIVE TO THEM, AND THAT GOG  
CONSULTING WITH OTHER STATES HAVING RECOGNIZED BIAFRA WITH  
VIEW CONCERTED APPROACH BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP ALONG LINES  
SUGGESTED PALMER.

① 2. MALEKOU HAS ON TWO RECENT OCCASIONS STRESSED TO ME HIS AND  
BONGO'S APPRECIATION FOR PERSONAL LETTERS SENT THEM BY PALMER  
ON HIS DEPARTURE GABON.  
GP-3 BANE

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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TELEGRAM

PL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET 272

PAGE 01 LONDON 10526 021844Z

46

ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INRI 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SAM 02, MCI 01,

ACDA 16, RSR 01, 158 W

R 021730Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4589  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA

SECRET LONDON 10526

NOFORN

KAMPALA FOR PALMER

SUB: BRITISH EFFORTS TO REVIVE KAMPALA TALKS

1. COMMONWEALTH OFFICER ERIC NORRIS (ASS'T UNDER SECTY) INFORMS US THAT BRITISH AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT HAVE BEEN EXERTING INTENSIVE PRESSURE ON BIAFRANS IN PAST FEW DAYS TO PARTICIPATE IN NEW ROUND OF TALKS WITH FMG.

2. THIS HAS TAKEN FORM OF LETTER FROM ARNOLD SMITH TO OJUKWU URGING HIM TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS AND MEETING BETWEEN LORD SHEPHERD AND BIAFRAN REP KOGBARA FOR SAME PURPOSE. SHEPHERD TOOK "ROBUST" LINE WITH KOGBARA, SAYING ON BASIS HIS TALKS IN LAGOS HE WAS CONVINCED FMG WANTED MEANINGFUL, SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH BIAFRANS. IT WAS UP TO LATTER TO MEET FMG HALF-WAY. SHEPHERD ALSO ADVISED KOGBARA

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LONDON 10526 021844Z

OF LORD HUNT'S MISSION AND OF BRITISH INTENTION TO  
ALLOCATE UP TO 250,000 POUNDS FOR RELIEF ASSISTANCE  
(SEPT 11)

3. BRITISH AND CS ARE ALSO GOING AHEAD WITH PLANNING  
FOR PEACE-KEEPING FORCE. SMITH HAS TALKED WITH BOTH  
INDIANS AND GHANAIANS. WE GATHER LATTER HAVE TENTATIVELY  
INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE, BUT ONLY ON CONDITION  
SOMEONE ELSE COVERS FX COSTS. (BRITISH ESTIMATE IT WOULD TAKE  
POUNDS 2 MILLION TO COVER EXTRA COSTS OF ONE BRITISH  
BATTALION FOR SIX MONTHS.) BRUCE

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05



SOC 12-1 Nigeria  
XP 27 Biafra - Nigeria  
Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 IBADAN 00516 021850Z

53  
ACTION AF 15

INFO NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SA 01, AID 28, RBR 01, ID 13, /125 W

R 021006Z JUL 68  
FM AMCONSUL IBADAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 586  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE IBADAN 516

SUBJECT: TOP WESTERN NIGERIAN CIVIL SERVANT AT WORLD  
CHURCH ASSEMBLY.

REF: LAGOS 10437 Pol 27-10 Biafra - Nigeria

1. IN LIGHT PARA 2 REFTL, ADDRESSEES MIGHT FIND IT USEFUL  
TO KNOW THAT PETER ODUMOSU, SECRETARY TO WESTERN MILITARY  
GOVT AND HEAD OF SERVICE, HAS GONE TO WORLD CHURCH ASSEMBLY  
IN UPSSELM

2. HE TOLD ASST. AID DIRECTOR REED HE TAKING LEAVE FOR  
TRIP WHICH BEING PAID FOR BY HIS LOCAL CHURCH (METHODIST).  
EXPTS RETURN IBADAN JULY 23.

3. WE DO NOT ATTACH POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE TO ODUMOSU'S  
TRIP. HE IS DEVOTED PERSON, ACTIVE IN HIS CHURCH AND  
UNDOUBTEDLY WENT FOR CHURCH REASONS. NEVERTHELESS, IF  
"BIAFRAN" CHRISTIANS ARE IN IPPSALA, HE WOULD PRESUMABLY  
MEET THEM AND HAVE INFORMAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. AS  
PREVIOUSLY REPORTED (IBADAN A-115) ODUMOSU IS DEEPLY  
CONCERNED OVER CONTINUANCE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR. ALTHOUGH  
BELIEVES IN "ONE NIGERIA", HE IS NOT ADVOCATE OF PURELY  
MILITARY SOLUTION.

4. WILL ENDEAVOR FIND OUT ABOUT ANY SUCH CONTACTS ON HIS  
RETURN.

STRONG

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Shaban 516  
7/2/68

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MM NARA Date: 10/5/05



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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

*Intelligence*  
*Note* - 519

July 2, 1968

To : The Secretary  
Through: S/S  
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *TH*

Subject: Hunger in Biafra

Though Biafran claims are inflated, there is little doubt that tens of thousands of Ibo civilians, many of them refugees crammed into Biafra's shrunken perimeter, are seriously malnourished and perhaps starving. A full-scale relief operation cannot be undertaken while the fighting continues unless Biafra reverses its refusal to accept relief supplies transshipped through Federal territory.

Suffering... The Former Eastern Region of Nigeria, which proclaimed its independence as the Republic of Biafra in May 1967, has been under siege for nearly a year. Although it began building up food stocks and increasing agricultural acreage even before the Federal Nigerian blockade was imposed, it has not been able to provide a balanced diet for its refugee-swollen population. Always dependent on imports of meat and fish, Biafrans now subsist almost completely on a home-grown, almost proteinless diet of yams and cassava. Even these foodstuffs are in very short supply, and no relief is in sight until the next crop can be harvested beginning in August. In Iboland--the predominantly Ibo part of the Eastern Region, still largely held by Biafran forces--the problem is most serious; population densities even before the war rivalled those of the Nile Valley, and much of the land is poor. Most tragic is the effect on children, who are particularly vulnerable to the lack of protein.

(3)  
This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

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*Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria*  
*Q 60 L 27 Biafra-Nigeria*  
*Q AGR 12-3 Biafra*

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By: *MVA* Date: *10/5/05*



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46  
POL 27 BIAFR - NIGERIA  
XR DEF 12-5 BIAFRA

CONFIDENTIAL 537 POSS: DUPE

PAGE 01 PARIS 17320 012137Z

16  
ACTION EUR 20

INFO AF 09, MC 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INRI 07, LI 03, NSC 10, PI 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, RGR 01, AID 28, IO 13, 139 W

R 011900Z JUN 68  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3747  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 17320

SUBJ: FOUGA MAGISTERS FOR BIAFRA

REF: PARIS 16666

QUAI DESK OFFICER FOR NIGERIA (PIERRET) TOLD EMBASSY  
JUNE 29 THAT FRENCH EMBASSY IN LISBON CONFIRMED ARRIVAL OF TWO  
FOUGA MAGISTER JETS AIRLIFTED FROM VIENNA. FOGAS REPORTEDLY  
OBTAINED FROM AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH HAD BOUGHT THEM FROM  
FRANCE SEVERAL YEARS AGO. THEY WERE THEN LOADED ON ONE OF  
WHARTON'S SUPER CONSTELLATIONS AND DEPARTED JUNE 6 FOR SAO THOME  
VIA BISSAU. WHILE SUPER CONSTELLATION ON GROUND AT BISSAU JUNE 7,  
IT WAS HEAVILY DAMAGED BY EXPLOSION WHICH BELIEVED TO BE SABOTAGE.

(COMMENT PROBABLY SAME SUPER CONSTELLATION DESCRIBED PARA 6,  
STATE 193229.) FRENCH UNAWARE ANY ADDITIONAL FOGAS DESTINED  
FOR BIAFRA ACCORDING PIERRET. SHRIVER

2  
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By	MNARA Date 10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

Origin  
Info:

ACTION: Amembassy LUSAKA PRIORITY  
INFO : Amembassy ABIDJAN  
" DAR ES SALAAM  
" KAMPALA  
" LAGOS  
" LIBREVILLE  
" NIAMEY

LIMDIS

KAMPALA FOR PALMER

Ref: Lusaka 2183

1. Concur points made para 3. Would add only (a) there greater number Christian Nigerians outside than inside Biafra and (b) FMG, Northerners and Nigerian media do not stress religious aspect and we doubt it a prime ~~motivation~~ motivation. Biafran propaganda presses religious war theme to serve own ends.
2. While tribal/ethnic antagonisms are major cause of civil war, many Nigerians, including most influential FMG leaders, sincerely believe best interests of all Nigerians, including Ibos, best served by maintaining Nigerian unity.
3. USG has not made representations to UK about arms supplies. As stated ref, British were traditional supplier and their refusal to furnish FMG with arms could have been interpreted as involvement by UK on opposite side. It would have also limited UK's moderating influence with FMG and turned field over to Soviets. Latter were quick to furnish FMG with jet aircraft after UK and US refusal.

Drafted by: AF:AFW:AMHardy/MM Melbourne

Tel. Ext. 6402

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AFW - Roy M. Melbourne

Clearances:

AFSE-Mr. Holmes

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FORM DS-322  
8-65

POL 27 Biafra - Nigeria  
11 9 4 3 201

DEF 12-5 Nigeria

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/02

Page 2 of telegram to LUSAKA

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4. Department struck that Mulikita's comments not directed to fact it too late to deprive FMG of military means for defeating Biafra, most of which Feds have amassed. Religious issue has little relevancy in present context. Real problems are to end bloodshed and to convince Biafrans to adopt a more realistic position and reopen prompt negotiations on a peace settlement.

5. FYI Re application Conte-Long Amendment to Nigeria, believe Congress originally did not intend penalize any country for reasonable expenditures to preserve internal order and national unity, but we had no recourse under terms of law. FMG, after several prior conditioning discussions, accepted actual application Conte-Long with surprising equanimity. Action not publicized in Nigeria and we attempting avoid publicity.

END FYI.

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END

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FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

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(11)



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR POL 3 OAU  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 01966 011734Z

53  
ACTION AF 15

INFO: EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPMI 04, H 02, INRI 07, LI 03, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SA 01, AID 28, PC 04, RSR 01, /131 W

R 011440Z JUL 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1934  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BANGUI  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LOME  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
RKNCR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 284  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

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LAGOS INFORM VOA KELLY

REF: NIAMEY 1953 - POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SUBJ: OAU CONSULTATIVE MEETING

WHILE FINAL ARRANGEMENTS APPARENTLY NOT RPT NOT NAILED  
DOWN BECAUSE DIORI'S ABSENCE, NIGER FOREIGN OFFICE INDICATED  
TODAY THEY GOING AHEAD WITH PLANS FOR OAU CONSULTATIVE MEETING  
ON JULY 5 OR 6. ATTENDANCE MAY NOT BE COMPLETE (AHIDUO  
REPORTEDLY UNABLE COME) AND INFORMATION STILL INCOMPLETE ON  
SIZE AND COMPOSITION VARIOUS DELEGATIONS.

GP-4 RYAN

(2)

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